

6-1  
G-2 Report

FOR OFFICIAL USE

ONLY

2607-8-120

3410

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Local Political Conditions.

(b) Current Situations.

National Intervention of the Province of Buenos Aires

The Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, Sr. Martinez de Hoz, who was placed in power by the Conservatives in 1932, apparently lost sight of this fact as time went on, and forgetting the political debt which he owed to his party, drifted away from political platform promises and the policies of the Conservatives.

Time and again, efforts were made to bring about a uniform policy within his government, but these were of no avail; while a succession of cabinets were installed, these lasting temporarily as each realized in turn the impossibility of the situation. All in all, the situation was built up to peak load and finally resulted in national intervention by the Executive Power.

In view of the rising situation, the Conservative Party had secretly and silently decided some months ago to find a favorable opportunity to force the resignation of the Governor. This opportunity was presented a few weeks ago, when he (the Governor) dismissed summarily several employees of the Provincial Road Building Department, with not so much as having first consulted or advised the Minister of Public Works.

This trifling incident was sufficient, in view of the strained relations between the Governor and his party, to provoke the resignation of the then existing Cabinet and the demand on the part of the party (Conservatives) for his immediate resignation on the grounds that he had exceeded his powers.

The Governor refused to resign, but was promptly obliged under physical pressure to present his resignation, demanded by his ex supporters. This astonishing procedure caused the Federal Government to immediately take the matter in hand. The Province was intervened, while Sr. Martinez de Hoz was replaced by the Vice Governor Dr. Raul Diaz.

For reasons best known to himself, the Governor had asked for the ill advised assistance of the Legion Civica (See Report No. 4714 and 4750, Index 6000 d), the Fascist group, which is of growing concern to the country. This action, however, was prior to the intervention and after his party had demanded his resignation; La Plata, the seat of the provincial government was an armed camp: Fascists paraded the streets in groups, gathered in cafes, were sent by the train load from Buenos Aires to await the signal from the wavering Governor. An ultimatum was issued by the Fascists that the individual or group of individuals which went to or secured the Governor's resignation would be summarily dealt with. Troops of the 1st and 2nd Divisions were alerted and confined to their barracks, while the 7th Infantry, assisted by the police stationed in La Plata patrolled the streets to keep order.

After the resignation of his last Conservative Cabinet, the Governor ill advisedly turned over completely to the Fascists

From M.A.Argentina

Report No.5124

March 20,1935

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Local Political Conditions.

(b) Current Situations.

and appointed three ministers who are out and out Fascists. The latter, as well as the Governor, then lasted only three days, cutting short their otherwise assured careers. This was the absolute undoing of the Governor, inasmuch as up to this time public opinion had been divided, but now it turned completely against him.

The Conservative Party retaliated, resolving to make formal impeachment charges against him. This was done and upon his insistent refusal to abandon his post and Government House, the Federal Government intervened and placed the government in the hands of the Vice-Governor, who, needless to say, is in perfect harmony with the Conservative Party.

As a natural consequence of these agitated events which brought into action a number of very prominent public men, there were alarms and rumours all over Buenos Aires which did contain enough high explosive to blow the lid off of the Federal Government, but the situation has been satisfactorily handled and settled by the removal of Martinez de Hoz.

The present authorities are most likely to remain in the provincial government until the end of this year, or until the new provincial elections which are nearly a year off.

This disturbed political situation created by the above incidents has brought further confusion and disorganization into the Provincial Administration, which was by no means perfect prior to this time.

The new Governor and his ministers have made the usual promise of cleaning up and putting their house in order, but it is the opinion of the Attaché that this is only the threat of "the new broom" and an idle promise.

The possibilities are that the Radicals, ever growing in strength and consolidation of ideas will rise to strongly oppose the Conservatives and possibly win the elections at the end of the year, while the Conservatives will be fighting a losing battle endeavoring all the time to exert every possible pressure to stem the Radical tide rather than devoting themselves to efficiently looking after the real needs of the province.

The new ministers who have been appointed so far by Governor Diaz are Dr. Solano Lima, Minister of Government and Dr. Numa Tapia, Minister of Public Works. Dr. Groppo is the Minister of Finance, while Judge Elias Casa Peralta was appointed Chief of Police.

The impeachment trial by the Senate will proceed at once to try the ex-Governor on the charges of sedition, resistance to authority and malfeasance.

*Frederick D. Sharp*  
FREDERICK D.SHARP,  
Captain, G.S.  
MILITARY ATTACHE

Source of Information:  
Personal Contacts.

Report No. 5124      March 20, 1935

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G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Geographic)  
Subject: National Boundaries

6-1 2657-L 121  
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MAR 25 1936  
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MILITARY ATTACHE

Treaty with Bolivia RECEIVED G-2 W. D. MAR 25 1936

The treaty signed by the Argentine and Bolivian governments concerning the determination of frontiers is based upon the principle that there shall be no alteration of the present respective possessions. This is a covenant which dates many years ago, and which has served as a guide for subsequent schemes of a similar nature. In the present instance the object is to define the exact position of the boundaries between the two nations so as to be able to settle any question of the kind which may arise in future. Both governments undertake not to grant more concessions on territory which may be likely to change hands; also to examine the title deeds, situation and improvements made on concessions which have been granted since 1888. Apart from the importance of the treaty, one of the most significant clauses is the final one which, in the event that it has been impossible to reach a mutual agreement, the matter shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice on the request of either of the two parties. Thus, with the signature of the treaty just passed, the question of frontiers and others arising thereupon can never attain the proportions of a dispute.

Source: Press.

*Frederick D. Sharp*  
Frederick D. Sharp  
Capt., G.S.,  
Military Attaché.

REF ID: A6515  
G-2 Report

STRICTEL

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2657-L 123

3850-a

ARGENTINA - Political

Subject: Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

An interesting reaction to the present foreign policy of the United States and certain European countries was shown in the recent discussions of the Argentine Congress when the War Department Budget for 1937 was before that body.

Deputy Sr. Noble said in supporting the budget that "European powers are talking of acquiring more colonies, they are breaking treaties and there is an increase in dictators in the world of today. There is no danger from our frontiers but there is an outside danger."

"Dictators speak vaguely of oversea colonies. Even the press publishes telegraphic communications which ought to make us meditate greatly. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, according to a telegram coming from Berlin, said in a speech addressed to the employees of the Reich Bank, "The world is sufficiently large that Germany may possess colonies. It is possible to create a Germany overseas without it being necessary to put anyone out. The Reich ought to affirm its desire of having colonies, this being the only means of feeding the German people with products of their own soil."

"Africa and Asia are no longer fields for colonial expansion. There, any proposition to those ends would make war inevitable. From there glances turn toward the small, isolated and weak countries. I confess now my fears for the South American countries of great territorial expanses. I confess my fears for our own Patagonia. I confess the fears that the men of Brazil also confess with respect to the great expanses of their territory. These fears, gathered in Geneva, in Paris and in London, and shared by high officers of the army, are those which ought to make us meditate and those which make us demand an intimate connection between the policy which the Republic ought to follow in international matters and the policy of military expenditures. In normal times an invasion would be impossible, but the world is not living in normal times; the world is living in times profoundly abnormal."

"With the formidable war preparation of the autocratic countries any enterprise is possible, if control is not created. And it is necessary to create control. I rely intimately on the Inter-American Conference for the Consolidation of Peace. I hope that for the Monroe Doctrine will be substituted another more ample and more generous doctrine of stricter solidarity among the American countries. No longer is it the case where a great nation offers protection to the smaller ones. The American countries, big and small should be united of firm purpose to respect and defend the integrity of each and every one of them. That is the doctrine I hope confidently will come from the Peace Conference. If it does not come we will have to confess that the generous aim that President Roosevelt brought to our shores will not have been integrally fulfilled. If from that Conference a strict American solidarity with the aim of defending the territorial integrity of each and every one of the components of the American sisterhood does not come, the Conference for the Consolidation of Peace will have failed."

"The military policy of the American people ought to be shown in accord with that eagerness; it ought to orient itself toward the From: M.A. Argentina Report No. 5545 Date: March 18, 1937

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fulfillment of the duties which may come from that solidarity. We advocate the adoption of such a policy."

"The menacing clouds do not arise behind the Andes (Chile) nor behind Iguazu (Brazil). They arise across the seas. We are disposed to give our vote to a military policy which is strictly connected with an international policy of solidarity of the countries of the Western Hemisphere against aggression by any European or Asiatic power as established by the 1936 Peace Conference in this capital."

REMARKS of the M.A.

Heretofore, the Argentine Army has been considered adequate defense against such potential enemies as neighboring powers, and sufficient as an internal security force, but now the legislators apparently look with some alarm at the possibility of a European power seizing by force a territory that could be the larder of the world.

Source of Information: "Diario de Sesiones" of the Chamber of Deputies.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker  
Lt. Col., Inf.  
Military Attaché

From: M.A. Argentina

Report No. 5545

Date: March 18, 1937

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G-2 Report

U.S. GOVERNMENT  
J. U. N. A. S.

AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE

3600 INTELLIGENCE

ARGENTINA - Political

Subject: Political Issues and Problems.

The finances of the country within the last two years have shown an enormous improvement, the Government having attended all their foreign obligations, having reduced the foreign and floating debts and practically having balanced the national budget. By a series of conversion operations they have been able to reduce the service of interests on outstanding loans; in the United States of America alone they have been reduced from 20 to 7 million dollars yearly, the balance of trade showing a very considerable increase over previous years, having reached this year the peak of international trade balance. The value of international trade for the first three months of the present year, representing 1,147,406,000 net pesos, Argentine currency, shows an advance over last years figures for the same period of 447,550,000 pesos, that is, 63.9%.

The Anglo-Argentine treaty was renewed, with slight changes, in December, 1936.

Source of Information: Personal Contacts.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker  
Lt. Col., Inf.  
Military Attaché

6-1 2657-L 125  
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ARGENTINA - Political

Subject: Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

Peruvian - Argentine Relations.

Reference State Department report #4958, Lima, Peru, February 12, 1937 referred to the Military Attaché, Argentina, for comment (through evaluation report, February 12, 1937), the following is submitted.

1. It is not believed here that there has been any particular rapprochement between Argentina and Peru on account of the maintenance of Peace Conference. What has occurred is that the ill feeling resulting from tariff differences has been cleared away owing to the fact that it was increasingly appreciated here that the tariff fight was unwarranted and detrimental to the best interests of both countries. The settlement of the tariff differences simply happened to occur shortly after the conclusion of the Maintenance of Peace Conference.

Argentina fears that Chile and Brazil will form an "entente" and that Peru might join them. Peru is a long way off from Argentina therefore relations are not so vital as immediate surrounding countries, but Peru is one of the big sources of petroleum for Argentina, and Argentina has been exporting wheat to Chile who has been reselling to Peru at a profit. This three cornered trade to the benefit of Chile is really the "nigger in the wood pile". It resulted in Argentina sending, some time ago, Dr. Pablo Santos Munas to Peru where he paved the way for better direct commercial relations and the possibility of a commercial agreement. This was consummated recently.

2. So while Ambassador Barreda Laos is, as the memorandum states, generally impetuous and pompous he should not be held responsible for the recent tariff differences nor for any illwill which resulted therefrom, excepting insofar as he and the Argentine Foreign Minister, Saavedra Lamas, mutually grated on one another's nerves. On the contrary, throughout the tariff discussion he has exercised discretion. I am reliably informed that the Argentine decree placing excessively high duties on Peruvian oil was issued not only without warning to Ambassador Barreda Laos but that also the latter had been promised by Saavedra Lamas the evening before the decree was published that no such step would be taken.

3. The Peruvian delegates to the Maintenance of Peace Conference were in a frame of mind similar to the other Latin American delegates attending the Conference and when they departed from Buenos Aires, did so with an augmented liking for the United States and distrust for Argentina by reason of the attitude and policies adopted throughout the Conference by Foreign Minister Saavedra Lamas.

4. While Saavedra Lamas always has been fearful of the formation of a "Pacific bloc", his willingness to reach a tariff agreement with Peru was induced by the pressure of public opinion and even perhaps some word from President Justo. Peruvian friendliness with Argentina does not necessarily mean weakening of good

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relations with Chile. It is not believed here that the agreement reached had anything to do with the visit of Macedo Soares to Chile or an attempt to undermine the cordial relations existing between Chile and Peru.

Source of Information: Personal Contacts.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker  
Lt. Col., Inf.  
Military Attaché

5-1 28 1982  
2657-L-126  
MANUFACTURED

G-2 Report.

2,900-c.

### ARGENTINA - Population & Social Conditions:

Subject: Fear of Argentina in Brazil.

A few days ago the Chargé d'Affaires (Mr. Leslie Reed) of the American Legation at Montevideo, Uruguay, informed the writer (who as Military Attaché is accredited to Uruguay and at present on duty at that station) that he had just heard the most startling information, from an American named Bailey W. Diffie, which should be of interest to the War Department.

This information is to the effect that there is at present in Brazil a great deal of talk of war being imminent with Argentina.

As soon as possible, the Military Attaché interviewed Mr. Diffie, and he proved to be a reliable person - as the Chargé had already estimated him.

His occupation is that of Instructor of History at the College of the City of New York. He is travelling through all the countries of South America for the purpose of writing a new textbook on the History of Latin-American Republics.

He has just finished a six-month's stay in Brazil where he visited all the principal cities of that country.

He is travelling with his wife who was, until two years ago, a clerk in the United States Consulate at Madrid, Spain; they both speak Spanish and Portuguese fluently.

The Military Attaché's interview with Mr. Diffie was quite limited. Therefore, the Military Attaché requested Mr. Diffie to write a short memorandum on just what he had heard, where, when, and from whom. This he did in letter form and it reads as follows:

"Buenos Aires, Argentina,  
January 22, 1938.

Colonel Lester Baker,  
American Embassy,  
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

My dear Colonel Baker:

During the time I was in Brazil I heard a considerable amount of gossip about a coming war between Brazil and Argentina, and as you have expressed an interest I am writing you this letter as a memorandum.

I landed in Brazil on July 1, 1937, and lived there until January 12, 1938. During that time I was four months in Rio de Janeiro and I made trips into Minas Geraes and north as far as Manaos. From Sao Paulo I traveled overland through the three southern states and entered Uruguay by way of the Rio Grande do Sul border. Soon after I arrived I began to hear gossip among the Brazilians about a war with Argentina. This talk practically always came up when I was discussing international relations with Brazilians, and the tenor of their talk was that war between Brazil and Argentina was as inevitable as war between the United States and Japan. The first discussions I heard came from

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people who lived in the boarding-house with me. I also heard the same ideas from a man who taught me Portuguese, and his brother-in-law who was in the Brazilian Army. Among the intellectuals I frequently heard the sentiment that the relations between the military men of the two countries were strained and that an effort was being made by the intellectuals to foment good relations. The most commonly expressed ideas was that Brazil and Argentina had always been enemies and are still.

Beginning November 6 I took a trip from Rio to Manaos and back to Santos on a coastwise vessel. During the voyage I met people of practically every class. One of the topics of conversation that came up most frequently was that of a coming war. Several times during the trip I talked with men who assured me that they regarded the war as inevitable. In Sao Paulo I found this belief based on information which my informant regarded as official. I talked with Mr. Garabaldi Dantas of the 'Estado de Sao Paulo', the leading newspaper of Sao Paulo, and other men who assert that their information comes from Macedo Soares, former Minister of Foreign Relations. According to this story Brazil has information that Argentina intends to attack Brazil at the first favorable opportunity in order to cut off the southern part of Brazil and obtain iron. The arguments in favor of this alleged attack are (1) Argentina's need of industrial development owing to the competition she is meeting in grain and meat products, (2) the feverish armament program being pursued by Argentina with no visible enemies, (3) the existence of an imperialistic element in Argentina (of which Saavedra Kamas and the present war minister are the leaders) who want to absorb Paraguay, parts of Bolivia and Chile. According to this same 'information' the Brazilian army has formulated a plan of attack in order to gain time for home organization and with that object has concentrated the cavalry and the bulk of her trained troops in Rio Grande do Sul.

Trusting that this is the information you asked of me,  
I am

Very sincerely yours,  
(Sgd) Bailey W. Diffie."

REMARKS:

It is the opinion of the Military Attaché that Mr. Diffie undoubtedly heard the stories cited above, but that so far as Argentina is concerned with any imminent, or even anticipated, attack on Brazil - the idea seems fantastic.

There are many rumors in Buenos Aires that President Justo has the idea of becoming a real dictator - after the Vargas style. That he will not give up his presidency to President-elect Ortiz, but either persuade Vice-president-elect Castillo to be president or become himself full dictator. It is even said that President Vargas has actually promised to President Justo any help he may need at that time, in return for his help whenever needed, creating a real Rio-Buenos Aires axis after the Rome-Berlin axis of the European dictatorships. Justo is Fascist-inclined but has not been able to exercise his ideas until now as he is said to have wanted to assure himself that Argentina has all its gold in the country before he started anything. It is further rumored that many officers of the army are in favor of these fascist ideas. Castillo of course is fascist whereas Ortiz is not. The rumor goes on to

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say that something is going to happen to Ortiz in the near future, even if seemingly he becomes President. That soon after that Justo will do something about it.

There has not been, in the last year or so, in Argentina, any talk, hints, or action on the part of any of the Argentine army that would lead one to believe that even the political leaders of that country have any such idea as an attack on Brazil in mind.

Argentina has been having a boom. Plenty of money and plenty of food for everybody. Her economic and financial positions have shown such improvement during the last year that any trend toward imperialism (or Fascism) can almost be counted out. The uppermost thought in all of their minds at present is to continue the policies of the present government after February 20, 1938, when the new president is inaugurated.

President Justo might carry-on as a full dictator indefinitely, but in any event he could not possibly take on a war with Brazil, Chile and Paraguay and overcome conservative opposition at home at the same time.

Mr. Diffie states "the existence of an imperialistic element in Argentina of which Saavedra Llamas and the present war minister are leaders." This sounds like what might be expected from Saavedra Llamas ("noble" prize winner) to whom is attributed between "Flashes of intelligence" many impractical ideas. His actions in connection with the Chaco Peace Conference give one the impression that he wants to control Paraguay regardless of the settlement of the issue.

So that although Argentina and Brazil are old potential enemies, it is not believed that at the present time there is any serious thought of Argentina attempting to annex any part of Brazil in order to obtain iron. The iron as the coal found in Brazil is not fit for good steel manufacturing.

Moreover, from a military point of view, Argentina is in no position at present to attack Brazil. Not with 75% of her annual recruits for conscript service in the army being rejected for tuberculosis, intestinal disease and other physical disqualifications, and not so long as she has no aviators who can fly her modern United States planes. Also there has been no press propaganda to swing public opinion behind any such adventure, and the conscripts (practically all there is to the army) have been dismissed from the 1937 service and the new class for 1938 has not been enrolled.

The Military Attaché further believes that there is a crisis at the present time in Brazil due to the recent Vargas coup d'état, and that the people there, as a whole, are not yet content with the present status of affairs. Counter-revolutions are perhaps being fostered and so it is possible that in order to form a united front to meet this crisis the Government might disseminate propaganda about an enemy invasion - an attack by Argentina.

Source: As stated.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Feb. 2nd.  
Copy to M/A Brazil via G-2; to Legation, Montevideo.

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 5718.

January 29, 1938.

G-2 Report.

2657-L-127  
MARCH 1938  
3,020-e

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Italian Fascist Activities.

RECEIVED G/2 W. D. MAR 14 1938

There are in Argentina about 10,000 Italian Fascists who pay fees regularly to various organizations throughout the country. This estimate does not include women, children and student societies that exist in the network. There are, at least, a thousand students who are Italians, or children of Italian parentage, who attend the "Dante Alighieri" and "Pro-Scuola" schools in Buenos Aires.

Fascisti activities are quite extensive, and date back as far as the advent of Fascism in Italy when Argentina, as a tributary nation of Old Europe, began, in the person of a small group of conservative politicians, to plant in the country an idea similar to the one of the Totalitarian Government of Italy.

The first efforts were slow, but cunning, and were realized with the intervention of agents of the Italian Government, and the members of the above-mentioned group.

Use of the local press soon sped up activities. It is said the Italian Government has in Argentina an Attaché of the Press under the orders of the Embassy. This functionary transmits and directs the publication of Fascisti propaganda in various newspapers and pamphlets, giving most attention to "Il Mattino D'Italia", "Giornale D'Italia" and some weekly and monthly publications. It is also said there exists an informative agency called "Roma Press" that distributes propaganda received from Rome either by plane or boat.

Then were born various Nationalistic Associations such as "La Legion Civica", "La Liga Nacionalista", "Los Amigos D'Italia" and others less known but equally active and pernicious.

With the birth of these psuedo-nationalistic groups sprang up some publications which were necessary in order to carry on, and convert people to the Fascist idea. The most important organs of this nature are called: "Bandera Argentina", "La Fronda", "El Pueblo", and "El Crisol". The latter is sustained by the Catholic Fascists. "Bandera Argentina" by the clergy, "El Pueblo" by the clergy, and "La Fronda" by Nationalistic Argentine groups composed of reactionary conservatives, many of them descendants of the first Spanish colonizers, who have come down in life.

Some of these publications seem to offer a contradiction, for although they are maintained by the clergy, they defend the anti-Catholic campaigns of Adolf Hitler.

The outstanding Fascist figure in Argentina is Dr. Matias Sanchez Sorondo, an ex-senator, and Minister of the Interior in General Uriburu's time. His political acts receive little support in general, or by the press, but all parties recognize his superior culture and talents. He recently visited Europe to study Fascism. This gave the public and the press much

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to talk about. He was received by Mussolini, Hitler, and the principal disciples of Fascism, and Nazism, who saw in the Argentine politician a means by which they could implant a totalitarian regime in Argentina. Sanchez Sorondo's return from Europe, however, was scarcely mentioned in the press of Buenos Aires - good tactics of the democratic press of the country - but his movements were closely watched and soon he was found touring the interior of the country, talking with politicians and leaders, with the idea of organizing and preparing Fascist organizations - for any eventual fight against the present government of Argentina.

Intervention by President Justo resulted in temporarily silencing Dr. Sanchez Sorondo. He was given a position as president of the National Cultural Commission to keep him busy and unoccupied with Fascism affairs.

The second person of political importance, who is concerned with Italian Fascism, is Dr. Manuel Fresco. He is governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, and came into prominence in politics after the revolution of 1930. Before this date his activities were limited to the field of his medical profession, although he was fairly well known in the "Conservative Party" in the town of San Martin (Province of Buenos Aires). He pretended to govern with a hand of iron and exhibited many tendencies at first towards Fascism. In the provincial departments he obliged the employees to contribute monthly a certain percentage of their salaries in order to increase the finances of the German and Italian organizations which helped to implant Fascism in Argentina.

However, one of the heads of the province - Alberto Borcelo - a politician of great influence, and president of the Conservative Party, managed to prohibit Fresco's anti-constitutional and anti-democratic rulings. So that now, political interests and personal ambitions have succeeded in annulling the attempts of Fresco, who is now at the end of his political career due either to the boycott by the Conservative Party or Federal intervention by President Ortiz.

Other ambitious Fascists are: Drs. Carilla and Rossi. The army is said to be represented by General Bautista Molina. Dr. Arturo Rossi, an Argentine son of Italian parents, is president of the association "Amigos D'Italia". It was reported that he has some sort of legal liaison with the Italian Embassy in Buenos Aires.

General Bautista Molina, who was the right-hand man of Uriburu when the latter overthrew the Argentine Government by the revolution of 1930 - installing Justo - is a Fascist of the "Nationalists Argentines". His hatred of democratic government has made him so. Although he was promoted to General by President Justo within the last year, he has not much influence in the Argentine Army.

The affiliates of the distinct Fascist groups in Argentina are usually sons of moderately rich parents, students, conservatives and men of the middle class who wish to secure for themselves government jobs. Not one of them, actually, has the courage of his convictions. They go about talking loudly of the good of Fascism knowing full well there is no danger - at present - of bloodshed.

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REMARKS.

The Military Attaché believes that the Fascisti set-up in Argentina has some organized way of coercing actual anti-Fascisti Italians to serve their cause.

It is believed to be done through some secret Fascisti police organization which is thought to operate under the Italian Consulate. These police agents, or spies, collect names and addresses of anti-Fascisti. A spy-agent, having credentials of the Italian Socialist, or Communist, party is then sent to these individuals, presenting himself at the house of the alleged anti-Fascisti under the pretense of being a collector or census-taker, and asks to speak to the suspected individual, well knowing that he is not at home. The agent always selects an hour when the man is at work. He then begins to ask questions about his family relatives in Italy, in what city they are living, etc., and never forgetting to note if these relatives have any property.

Once identified as an anti-Fascist the family in Italy suffer moral and material consequences.

The Military Attaché also believes that there is no fertile field in Argentina at the present time for the implanting of a Fascist, or Nazist, regime - neither the Italian nor German style, nor that of Portugal or Brazil.

There is plenty of propaganda being disseminated but it has not so far produced any material change.

(Additional report following in a few days will list the names of and such information on Fascisti organizations of Argentina as can be obtained).

Source: Personal contacts.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Mar. 15th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Mar. 15th.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

G-2 Report.

5-1  
MIL. INTELL. GR.  
MIL. INTELL. GR.  
MAR 28 1938  
2657-L 127  
3,020-e.

ARGENTINA- Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;  
Fascist Organizations in  
Argentina.

RECEIVED C/P W. B. MAR 21 1938

The Italian Embassy, and the Italian Consulate, at Buenos Aires, direct and supervise the diverse activities of the various Fascisti organizations that exist in Argentina.

There is said to be at the Embassy, or Consulate, a section called "Inspettore Generale - Secretario Statale" under a Captain Longhini and a Commander Miniggio, which operates in Argentina with liberty of action but under the orders and the protection of the Italian Embassy. The above-named officials are considered important, and are said to have been sent here directly by the Italian Government.

The Italian Consuls in Argentina outside of Buenos Aires in the smaller cities are said not only to function as agents, but also to have the authority to name sub-agents - and spy-agents when necessary.

The General Fascisti assembly-place, and general headquarters, is at present at Calle Independencia 2,442, Buenos Aires. A "House of Italy"(an expression of Mussolini's) is being built on the site of the old Coliseo Theater at Calle Charcas 1,109, which will become Fascisti headquarters when finished.

The land for this building was purchased in August 1937 on behalf of the Italian Government by Italian Ambassador Raffaele Guariglia. It was purchased in the name of the Fascist Government with funds bequeathed by Sr. Lascito Lora, a multimillionaire who died in Italy after long residence in Argentina. He left a great part of his fortune to various Argentine institutions and to the Italian Government. A special architect and engineer was sent here by the Fascist Government - named Gio Ponti - an interpreter of the new architecture of Mussolini's time - in order to start the building of this "Casa d'Italia". It will house the offices for all the Italian activities. The basement will contain the archives of the Embassy and a large library. For the ground floor is planned a de luxe entrance, and a large hall with a capacity for three or four thousand people. The first floor will house the offices of the Consulate General. Upper floors will contain quarters for the "Fascio", "Dopolavoro" and other Italian institutions named in the will of Lora.

Listed below are the names of some of the Argentine Fascisti organizations, with such description as is obtainable:

"CENTURIA". This is said to be an organization which consists of semi-military bodies that organize marches and exercises in Fascist uniforms. It is mostly composed of minors who are the sons of important families, or Government officials.

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3,020-e.

"FACIO ITALIANO" seems an all-embracing term for the various units.

"G.I.L.E.", or "Gioventu Italiana Littorio Esterno", is an organization of the Italian youth of both sexes in Argentina. They are enrolled in separate sections according to age - as in Italy. Those under 14 years of age are in the "Ballilla", between 14 and 18 in "Avanguardisti" and between 18 and 21 in another organization (the same as in Italy). Hundreds of members of these groups were taken on a free trip to Rome in June 1937 on the S.S. Corte Grandi to be entertained and educated there in the Fascisti doctrine. Groups of about 200 embarked from each of the following ports: Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Santos, and Rio de Janeiro. These organizations are semi-military in character, and march with the Italian flag abreast of the Argentine, Uruguayan or Brazilian Colors, as the case may be.

"DOPOLAVORO" (or "after-work") takes care of all recreational activities, and is divided into numerous sections such as: sport, music, theaters, excursions, dancing, etc. Money is paid for a "carnet" which entitles the holder to participate in the collective recreations mentioned, and also entitles the holder to reductions in prices, entrance fees etc.

"PRO-SCUOLA" and "DANTE ALIGHIERI". These are schools said to be maintained by the Italian Government in Buenos Aires. The teachers are brought out from Italy and teach all the concepts of Fascism. Argentine-Italians who wish to learn Italian attend these schools where they are also taught at the same time such subjects as: "Our Country", "Our Government", "Our Empire", "Accomplishments in Ethiopia", and "Our Leaders".

"ASSISTENZA". This apparently takes care of health, births, burials, unemployment, old age, disability, and other social services.

"CENTRO DI STUDI ITALIANI". This is an Italian study center responsible for cultural interchange between Argentines and Italians and contains a large library of Italian books, papers and Fascisti propaganda, of course. It is located at Calle Juncal 1207, Buenos Aires, and is managed by a Dr. Ettore de Zuani with the title of Director.

REMARKS.

Italian citizens in Argentina are organized apparently on identically the same lines as in Italy itself. Fascist party offshoots, bearing the same names as in Italy, seem to pretty well control the lives of the local Italians.

The M/A is of the general impression that Fascism abroad aims to organize Italian citizens, and those Italians of Argentine citizenship who care to adhere, into a veritable self-sufficient state within a state. How much of this is ambition and how much reality, the M/A is not prepared to say.

It does seem, however, that a State which permits foreigners to become legal citizens without a "bona fide" renoun-

G-2 Report.

3,020-e.

cement of their original nationality, as it is believed not only Argentina, but also Uruguay and Paraguay do, creates an ever-present danger to the stability of its government.

Source: Personal Contacts.

*Lester Baker*

Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Mar. 12th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Mar. 12th.

AIR MAIL

2 Enc

5-1 2657-L 127

3

G-2 Report.

REF ID: A6104

3,020-e.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Italian Fascist Activities in  
South America;  
Anti-American Activities.

RECEIVED G/2 W. O. DEC 17 1938

Ostensibly supported by the Alliance of Nationalist Youth (Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista) but really the work of Fascist agents of Italy who used this organization and the Argentine Civic Legion (Legion Civica Argentina) which is composed of the same members, a campaign of anti-American publicity - especially bill-board - was launched in Buenos Aires while the various delegations were en route to the Lima Conference.

There were very bitter attacks in the "newspapers" published by the organization against the United States and its "Good Neighbor" policy. These attacks were carried on also by means of large posters on the walls of buildings, all decrying "Yankee Imperialism". The Alliance stated that 30,000 of these posters were used. (Copies of two used on the walls of Buenos Aires are enclosed.)

In the December issue of "Combat" - a four-page sheet - published by the Legion, appears the following statement: "The Alliance of Nationalist Youth has undertaken, and will continue during the days which remain before the Lima Conference, a great campaign throughout the country, having for its purpose to make known to the Argentine people the grave peril which Yankee Imperialism threatens the future of the country".

One of the several posters, printed in large type in alternate black and red ink, reads:

LATIN AMERICA MUST DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST  
YANKEE IMPERIALISM

WHICH HAS TO ITS CREDIT  
The spoilation of half the territory of Mexico  
The taking of Panama territory from Colombia  
The Assassination of General Sandino, defender of  
Nicaragua  
The enslavement of sister Republics of Central  
America and the Caribbean  
The Chaco War, promoted to defend its petroleum  
interests.

Those who forget this cannot declare they love liberty.

Another poster reads:

PEOPLE OF ARGENTINE  
ALERT

The politics called "Good Neighbor" is a mask  
behind which is hidden the Imperialist plans of  
the United States.

At the Lima Conference a try will be made to impose  
on Argentina commitments which will convert it into  
a factory slave of North America.

The countersign of Argentine Youth in these moments:  
WAR ON YANKEE IMPERIALISM.

G-2 Report.

3,020-e.

The posters are signed: Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista, and the address given is Calle Belgrano 2422.

The Legion Civica Argentina is a youth organization created during the revolution of 1930. At present it is not considered important in a political way, but the Military Attaché is certain that it is a Fascist organization now. It does not meet with public favor.

The members of the organization wear a uniform - black shirts, etc. - and use the Fascist salute. Salutes made in public are hissed.

- - - - -

REMARKS. The Military Attaché believes that the dissemination of the posters mentioned above is a reaction to the anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi campaigns in the United States, and, at the same time, an attempt to stir up trouble just at the time the Lima Conference is to take place.

Source: Personal contacts.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original, 4 copies & 2 posters airmailed Dec. 7th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Dec. 10th.

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S 1 • 2657 L-127  
4  
G-2 Report.

3,020-■

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Italian Fascist Activities in  
South America;  
Argentine Civic Legion.

Ref. Report 5906, I.G. 3020-E, Dec. 6, 1938.

Italian Fascisti are, apparently, boring into the membership of "Legion Civica Argentina" (Argentine Civic Legion) which was founded during the 1930 revolution by General José Felix Uriburu and General Juan Batista Molina. Recently General Molina was relieved of any important responsibility in the Argentine Army and relegated to a subordinate post on account of his pronounced Fascist leanings, although no statement was made by the military authorities to this effect.

The Legion at one time boasted of a membership of 200,000 scattered throughout Argentina. At present its membership is greatly reduced and it is not considered important politically by the Government, but the Military Attaché learns that it has close ties with the Italian Embassy here and that some of its officers are on the Embassy payroll. This fact, however, is not susceptible to definite proof. The membership is made up of men of military age, including conscripts, and it is reported to have many adherents in the regular army.

The actual leaders are José E. Uriburu, son of the late general and co-founder, and General Molina. The brigade commanders are chosen among military men. The program of the organization is anti-communist, anti-Jewish, anti-political and anti-democratic. To join the Legion it is necessary to be:

- a. An Argentine or an alien with at least five year's residence in the country. (It is under this provision that the Italian Fascists join up);
- b. Over 18 years of age;
- c. Swear voluntary obedience to all rules and regulations;
- d. Have personal documents in order.

The Legion enjoys special privileges in the Argentine army such as the use of army ranges for rifle and pistol practice. At one time members were also allowed to carry arms "for personal protection" but this privilege has been abolished.

The plans of the Legion embrace a change in the form of constitutional government with the Legion in charge, on the Fascist model. The country would be ruled by the General Commando, and provinces governed by regional commandos composed of: president, superior council and sergeant major. The uniform is a grey shirt with black leather straps, blue trousers and black beret. The Fascist salute is used by members.

Besides its reported close relations with Fascists and Nazis, close relations are said to be held with Brazilian Integrillistas.

Source: Personal contacts.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Original & 4 copies airmailed Dec. 10th. Military Attaché.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Dec. 10th.

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 5907.

December 7, 1938.

(Attached is December copy of "Combat" the Legion's propaganda sheet)

AIR MAIL

ADMISSION TO PUBLICATION  
IN SPANISH JOURNALS.

G-2 Report.

APR 21 1938 2657-L 128  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
2,140-a.

ARGENTINA - Population & Social Conditions.

Subject: Social Advancement and Progress;  
Inherent Attitude Toward Foreigners.

La Razón, prominent afternoon newspaper of Buenos Aires, in editorial comment on April 4, 1938, on the Latin-American Division of the United States Department of State's reported puzzlement about what should be done to gain the sympathies of countries south of Panama gives a caustic lecture to Americans resident in Argentina. This editorial was considered so important that The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America in the Argentine Republic, translated it and mailed it to all members.

The editorial follows: "The Division of the Department of State, which is in charge of matters relating to Latin America, is vainly speculating in regard to what should be done to gain the sympathy of the 'countries further south than Panama'. By cable we learned yesterday about a series of measures suggested to the Government in Washington by one of those sagacious - and distant - analysts of present day South America. The man is lost in thought as to whether it would be better to do this or that, but it has not occurred to this good person that if in those countries the Yankees are regarded with distrust it is because the Yankee himself does not try to gain their confidence. There does not exist a more obstinate community than that of the North Americans, who are merely transients in Argentina for business purposes, when it comes to living in full contact with Argentine life. We have used the exact words: They are always passing thru and conduct themselves as passengers making a forced call while in transit. It may not be that they despise actual human contact with Argentines, but it is true that they do not look for it, do not feel the need of it and maybe do not think it could take place. They simply ignore us. They pass thru the country ..... and pass without leaving anything and without taking anything in the way of sympathy. This is what the Department of State completely ignores. And here we know it. We know it and it hurts".

REMARKS.

This criticism of aloofness has been leveled in the past also at the British colony but not so strongly. The British, as a whole, come to Argentina to make their homes and bring up their children as Anglo-Argentines - some sending them home to school - who will also follow out their lives in Argentina. With Americans life in Argentina means for most a stay of comparatively few years, they keep closely in touch with the United States and plan to return there.

Both the Anglo-Saxon communities are handicapped with a lack of linguistic ability as compared with the Continental races of whom there are large numbers in Argentina, and who mingle freely, socially, with the Argentines. Italians and Spanish are numerous in this country, and it is said that about 10% of all French citizens living outside of France are located in Argentina.

Source: As stated.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Apr.13th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Apr.16th.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

G-2 Report.

6-1 x 2657-L 129  
JUN 1 1938  
3,110-a.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Present Executive;  
Message to Congress.

Appearing before the Argentine National Congress on May 11, 1938, at the opening of its 73rd session, the newly-elected President Roberto Ortiz delivered his first message which dealt especially with economy in government expenditures, but more especially with social problems. Although he named neither Fascist nor Nazi influences he made it plain that people in the country who did not get enough to eat or who were deprived of the opportunity to secure a common-school education were in a mood to accept any strange doctrine, which they did not understand, promising them a more abundant life. On this account he urged upon Congress the necessity of social legislation which would improve the lot of the underprivileged in Argentina.

After reviewing the present unrest throughout the world which included all classes, Dr. Ortiz said: "I have seen not only isolated families, but whole communities lacking the indispensable means of living. There are homes almost without hope, where children grow up unnnourished or sickly and the adults suffer moral and physical pain. In those regions, on the verge of misery, there develops an atmosphere propitious for despair, for vice or for crime, for illiteracy and even for class hatred. There are children who cannot go to school because they lack food and the clothing necessary for decency, and it is understandable that this young generation, entering upon life, infected by sadness and despair, cannot become an exponent of the physical vigor, of the moral health and of the spiritual strength of the Republic. Men and women workless for a great part of the year, not earning sufficient for the necessities of their homes, are becoming possessed by the bitterness and the resentment which will gradually lead them to profess anti-social ideologies, without understanding their danger and their falsity".

The President held that the remedy for these deplorable conditions must not be sought by sporadic and emergency solutions. "This permanent state of abandonment and poverty cannot be dealt with by alms or charitable palliatives but only by remedies which attack and extirpate the evil at its root. For that reason any postponement of the task, the great and permanent task, which would solve the most fundamental problems of the health and tranquility of all the inhabitants would be unpardonable. Laws which have not for their aim and object the integral betterment of the human being, are anti-social in their spirit and in their consequences".

REMARKS.

The President's message received favorable comment in practically all quarters. The prosperity which characterized the later period of the Justo Government - through the heavy favorable trade balance - has diminished markedly since the beginning of 1938, and President Ortiz has made it perfectly plain to Congress and to the country that Government spending on non-necessities must be curtailed while at the same time declaring that social betterment must be pushed forward.

Source: Press.

Original & 5 copies mailed May 21st.

Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

NO OBJECTION TO PUBLICATION  
IN SERVICE JOURNALS.

G-2 Report.

6-1 1938  
2659-L-130  
MIL. INTELL. BUREAU

SEP 1 1938  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

3,020-c.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;  
Falange Activities in Argentina.

Argent. 1938 - Oct 17 1938

It is said that the Argentine Falange Espanola has 3,000 sworn members in this country and that 90% of them are Argentine-born. The headquarters in Buenos Aires are at Calle Cerrito 979.

According to Mr. Edward Bravo, who is a member of the American Youth Association of Buenos Aires, General Franco, supreme head of Falange Espanola, has ordered all Falange units in Latin America to start an active campaign in their respective countries in favor of his Spanish Government. From this information it would appear that Franco wants to be an overlord in these countries which have been free from Mother Spain for generations.

This information, coming from a member of the American Youth Association, seems to bear out testimony given a few days ago in Washington before the Congressional committee investigating un-American activities that the Youth Association is actively Communist; in other words it is fighting Fascism in South America (Nazi and Fascist organizations in Argentina recently reported on) as it is in the United States.

It is reported further that the members of the Falange have sworn hatred toward all democracies, and also sworn to boycott any national movement against a foreign power, such as Germany or Italy, in case of war.

Members of the Falange private police are reported to be in the Argentine army, and in the police force. These men are said to ~~give~~ Falange any desired information of these organizations.

Just as anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist citizens working in German or Italian firms here are reported to lose their jobs, anti-Falangers lose out in Spanish firms.

At the Falange headquarters in Calle Cerrito the wall of the main room on one side is decorated with a large flag of Royalist Spain with the picture of General Franco attached to the center. On each side of this flag are other pictures, on one side Mussolini, on the other Hitler.

Source: As stated.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & 5 copies mailed August 27th.

U.S. MAIL

5-1 2657-L 130

2

Department of State

G-2 Report.

3,020-G.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;  
Falange Espanola.

11-17-38

The Spanish Falange, in connection with German Societies in Buenos Aires, has now started boycotting all Jew business firms and Jew manufacturing companies.

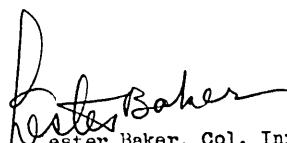
This has been directed through various circulars (orders) to members of the Spanish Falange which have been widely distributed among its members.

The German Nazi societies and Italian Fascisti organizations here are reported to be doing the same thing.

It is further reported that the Franco Government in Spain contemplates sending seven army officers - air and artillery officers - to Argentina, ostensibly for study.

Source: Personal contacts.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Nov. 18th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Nov. 19th.

  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

AIR MAIL

1939  
FEB 21 1939  
2657-L-131  
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FEB 21 1939  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NO RESTRICTION TO PUBLICATION  
IN GOVERNMENT JOURNALS.

G-2 Report.

3,020-f.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;  
Nazi Activity in Argentine Territories.

RECEIVED IN WASH. D. C. FEB 26 1939

Nazi activity is now reported by responsible Argentine citizens in the Territory of Misiones, which sticks out like a thumb in the northeast between Paraguay and the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catharina in Brazil, and in the territories of the far south, rich in petroleum, where a "separatist" movement is reported under way with the eventual idea of secession and the formation of a Nazi state under Hitler control.

In Misiones Territory, as reported by Dr. Luis M. Duarte, one of the leaders of the movement to secure provincial (state) rank for the national territories, the Nazi colonies have their own law courts and refuse to have their affairs governed by the Argentine authorities.

Dr. Alberto J. Grassi, chairman of the committee to secure provincial rank for the territories, declares that there is a Nazi propaganda campaign in the southern territories designed to lead to a separatist movement under Nazi control. The campaign in the south is reported in responsible Argentine circles to be carried on with the assistance of numerous German residents in the south and the intention is to form a "United States of the South" with the assistance and under the "protection" of the Berlin government. Dr. Grassi in an interview in Buenos Aires stated that Herr Karl Furst was an important leader in the movement, and that he had seen Furst recently in Buenos Aires in company with an Argentine army officer.

It is also stated that the south of Chile is contemplated by the Nazis as a unit of these United States of the South under the control of Berlin. The two Argentines mentioned above, as well as others working for statehood for the Argentine territories which cover half the area of Argentina and have more than a million in population, contend that with provincial status with its representation in Congress and local elective officials the people would be able to fight the Nazi plans which they are now handicapped in doing without political voice in their own affairs or in those of the nation.

Source: As stated.

*Lester Baker*

Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Feb. 11th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Feb. 11th

5-1

2657-L-131

2

3,020-f.

G-2 Report.

1/2 - 21 - 39 - 1

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: German Nazi Activities;  
Patagonian Annexation.

The Argentine authorities under direct instructions from President Ortiz are conducting a thorough investigation into an alleged Nazi plot to take over Patagonia as a part of the Reich, or at least to make a German colony of it. (Ref. G-2 Rep't. No 5950, I.G. 3020-f, Feb. 7, 1939). Now, it is alleged, there is documentary proof of the German intentions included in a letter written on the letterhead of the German Embassy in Buenos Aires, and signed by a member of the Embassy staff.

The German Embassy at first denied the authenticity of the document when a photographic copy was published in *Noticias Graficas*, an afternoon newspaper of Buenos Aires, issuing a statement that the document was a forgery, that the signature was that of an official who had no authority to sign, and, finally, that no official document carried two signatures which this one did. The second signature was that of the leader of the local Nazis. However, later the Embassy took another tone and stated that even if the document was authentic it could not be regarded as an "official" paper.

The document in question was a report dated January 11, 1937, made to the colonial political office in Munich and addressed to Ritter von Epp. It detailed the espionage system in effect to secure information including the Argentine military establishments in Patagonia - which was referred to as a "no man's land" - the wealth of the country in petroleum, grain and livestock. Aerial photographs of the oil fields were included.

Named among the sources of the information forwarded in the report were two German banks in Buenos Aires, Lehuden and Company - the Lehuden brothers are locally known as the kings of Patagonia where they have extensive interests in agriculture and livestock - Antonio Delfino and Company, steamship agents, who furnished information on Patagonian transport both water and land, and various German cultural societies.

Various maps were included, and plans for mounting coast artillery batteries. These plans were official, having been secured from Argentine government departments. The document was signed by von Schubert, counsellor, and by Alfred Müller, chief of the Buenos Aires branch of the Nazi party.

A photographic reproduction of the document was printed in *Noticias Graficas* on the afternoon of March 30, 1939. This newspaper and *Critica*, another afternoon publication of wide circulation, have for some time been on the trail of Nazi activities in Argentina. The President of the Republic received personally a photographic copy of the document sent to him by Heinrich Jurgens, a former member of the Nazi party and at one time an assistant to Dr. Goebbels. Jurgens is said to have abandoned the Nazi party after the notorious Reichstag fire trial, when he disagreed with the party leaders and was forced to flee to Holland. He came to Argentina some years ago from Holland.

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 5992.

April 4, 1939.

G-2 Report.

3,020-f.

Argentine officials take a very grave view of the disclosures and President Ortiz called in the foreign minister and the ministers of war and navy for a long conference when he received the photographic copy. Investigations are being conducted into various government departments to find out if it is true that confidential information was supplied to the local Nazis which was later transmitted to Germany.

It is stated in official circles that the incident is regarded as the most serious between Germany and Argentina since the famous furor created by Count Luxburg (the German Minister in Buenos Aires during the World War) who advised the sinking of vessels flying the Argentine flag "without leaving a trace".

Source: Local Press.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & four copies airmailed Apr. 4th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Apr. 7th.

5-1 2657-L-131

3

3,020-f.

G-2 Report.

181  
5-2-1-69  
ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: German Nazi Activities;  
Argentine Investigation.

(Ref. G-2 Rep't. No. 5992, I.G. 3020-f, April 4, 1939).

The investigation into Nazi activities in Argentina now being carried on by the authorities under direct instructions from President Ortiz, following the receipt by him of the photographic copy of a document on stationery of the German Embassy at Buenos Aires purporting to be a report of Nazi spy activities in Patagonia, has had ramifications throughout the country. The document in question purported to reveal German aspirations and plans for separating Patagonia from Argentina and make it either a colony or a protectorate of the Reich. Argentine secret police have raided offices and homes of Germans all the way from Patagonia to Misiones Territory in the north. In these raids, which included many of German Nazi societies, a large amount of documents have been seized and are being translated.

A few days after the document referred to above was published in the Buenos Aires press, the German Embassy here sent a note to the Foreign Minister which was couched in the language of a demand that no action should be taken against German citizens whose names had appeared in the document which the Embassy branded as a "gross forgery".

After the usual diplomatic preliminaries, the note read: "The document published in some newspapers in this capital regarding alleged German aspirations in connection with Patagonia is a gross forgery. The investigations effected both in the Colonial Policy Bureau at Munich and the foreign organization of the National-Socialist Party, and in the Foreign Office in Berlin which were extended to the persons mentioned in the document referred to, have proved without any doubt that the report in question never reached Germany, and the question of the Patagonian territory has never been discussed in writing or verbally by the German authorities or the party organizations. This question does not exist in Germany."

"In placing this point of view before you, My Government trusts that the Government of the Argentine Republic will take into consideration the indispensable consequences which must arise from the verification of the forgery, identifying the forger and his accomplices and punishing them as they deserve, and cancelling and leaving in abeyance the measures which, as a consequence of this forgery have been adopted, or considered, in connection with German citizens."

"I take this opportunity to express the opinion that there can be no complaint against the attitude of the National-Socialist organization in this country, and I would add that, as regards certain measures taken against that organization, the proceedings would be not only unjustified but contrary to the cordial relations which happily exist between the two countries".

In other words, Germans in the eyes of their embassy are above the laws of Argentina.

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 6012.

April 22, 1939.

G-2 Report.

3,020-f.

To what the local press termed this "German effrontery" Foreign Minister Cantilo made a very cool reply pointing out that Argentina was mistress in her own house. Shorn of its diplomatic verbiage, the Argentine reply was: "In reply, I wish to state that the Argentine Government has ordered, on its side, an investigation into the affair within its own territory, with the intervention of the Courts and through the customary legal channels. Your Excellency may rest assured that only such measures as may be justified by the result of the investigation will be adopted.

"Moreover, the Argentine Government believes that the clearing-up of the alleged facts is the procedure best calculated to assist, clearly and frankly, the cordial relations which happily exist between our two countries".

La Prensa, leading newspaper in Argentina and South America, led the editorial comment on the tone of the German note. It said in its comment: "Except for diplomatic and consular representatives, no foreign country can maintain other office or organization in our country; in the same manner, in our territory there can not exist branches of foreign political parties which here have no reason to exist". As to the Embassy demand for no further Nazi investigation, La Prensa adds: "....the steps taken are judicial and the investigation ordered under our laws and in our territory, and are, in consequence, free from the opinion of a foreign diplomat."

Meanwhile the investigation is proceeding into Nazi organizations and activities throughout the country. Organization headquarters in many cities and towns have been searched and documents confiscated which show, press reports state, the subversive activities of these groups. Definite charges have been lodged against Alfredo Miller, Nazi agent whose signature appears on the document which started the investigation, under the section of the Penal Code which deals with attempts against public security.

In Tucumán, German Jager, general secretary of the German Labor Front in that province, told the police that the organization had branches in all the principal cities and towns of the Republic and that its leaders received instructions directly from Berlin. The Front keeps a complete census of all Germans in Argentina, he said, and collects their contributions.

From Rio Gallegos in the south, Territory of Santa Cruz, it is reported that German members of the police force in that city and in other parts of the territory use their positions to proselyte among Argentines. In Tucumán a few days ago a German aviator(civilian) was arrested when he was found to have taken aerial photographs of what are considered strategic places.

The General Labor Federation has protested to the Government against German business firms taking a percentage of the salaries of all workers, whether German or Argentine, each month which goes to the coffers of the German Government for the Labor Front, Winter Help, etc. The Federation also proposed a monster mass meeting and parade of its members from all parts of the country as a protest against Nazi activities, following the publication of the German Embassy note. The Government prohibited the gathering on the grounds that agitation should not be stirred up at a time when the Courts were investigating the matter.

In connection with Nazi activities in Argentina, anti-American propaganda is being furnished Argentine papers through subsidized "news

From I/A Argentina.

Report No. 6012.

April 22, 1939.

G-2 Report.

3,020-f.

agencies", it is learned from the American Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires. This organization calls attention of its members to the fact that recently newspapers as far separated as Bahia Blanca in the South and Salta in the North had used such material which was supplied free from the German agencies Trans Oceano and Correo Periodistico Sudamericano. Both these agencies supply a free service of news, editorials and photographs to such newspapers as will print them.

Source: Press;  
Personal contacts.

*Lester Baker*

Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & four copies airmailed Apr. 25th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer Apr. 28th.

G-2 Report.

5-1 1938 2657-L-131  
28 4  
MAY 22 1939  
3,020-f.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Nazi Activities in Argentina;  
Restrictive Laws Possible.

(Ref. G-2 Rep't. No. 6012, I.G. 3020-f, Apr. 22, 1939). *3-21-69*

The Federal Public Prosecutor after investigation could find no legal grounds for the prosecution of Alfred Müller, head of the Nazi organizations in Argentina, following the nation-wide search of Nazi premises which was brought about by the discovery of a photographic copy of a document on German Embassy stationary purporting to report the possibility of annexing Patagonia to the Reich. The Prosecutor held that the authenticity of the document could not be proved as it might have been possible to superimpose the signatures of Müller and the Embassy secretary before photographing the document, and the original document had never been produced.

However, the Public Prosecutor issued a scathing indictment of Nazi activities in Argentina as revealed by the documents found in the raids on Nazi organization headquarters from Patagonia to the Territory of Misiones. The results of these investigations are reported to have had the effect of convincing the Government that laws should be enacted for strict control of such organizations, or even prohibit their functioning in Argentine territory.

It is reported in the press this date that a decree is in preparation which, although not making any special reference to the Nazi organization, will categorically forbid the establishment in Argentina of branches of foreign political parties or any other form of activity which would place foreign residents in Argentina under the control of political groups in their native countries.

If such a presidential decree is not issued, it is likely that Congress, which convenes in regular session May 12, 1939, will enact legislation to this end. It is reported in some circles that the reason a decree may not be issued is the pending barter agreement between Argentina and Germany whereby this country is to get rid of surplus grain and wool in exchange for German equipment for the State railways.

The Government of Argentina has a powerful weapon to curb subversive activities in its territory in the "Ley de Residencia" under which aliens considered undesirable may be deported without trial.

Source: Press.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & four copies airmailed May 13th.  
Confirmation copy by steamer May 19th.

G-2 Report.

5-1 2657-L-131  
MAY 27 1939  
5-  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
3,020-f.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;  
Ban on Foreign Organizations.

RECEIVED G. W. D. MAY 25 1939

As a result of the conditions disclosed by the police investigations throughout Argentina following the alleged Nazi plot to take over Patagonia (G-2 Rep't. 6028, I.G. 3020-f, May 11, 1939, and previous) the Argentine Government on May 15, 1939, issued a decree over the signatures of the Ministers of Interior, Justice and Public Instruction, and Foreign Affairs which strictly regulates the activities of foreign political parties or associations. Although the words "Nazi" or "Fascist" appear nowhere in the text of the decree the provisions will adequately curb the work of these organizations.

The decree, after calling attention to the activities "of certain aliens who arrive in the country under the protection of the guarantees of the National Constitution offer at present certain characteristics foreign to those of our country" and stating that "only the legally accredited diplomatic representatives, with this as such, can be recognized as agents of foreign Governments", states:

"Art. 1. All associations, whether possessing legal status or not, formed in the Federal Capital and National Territories, must communicate to the Ministry of Interior and the chiefs of police with jurisdiction over their respective domiciles the style they adopt, their objects, their rules and by-laws, and a list of the members, indicating name and address, age, civil status, profession and nationality. They must also keep and place at the disposal of the authorities when required, a minute-book containing all their resolutions.

"Art. 2. The associations may not possess or employ emblems of nationality other than those established by the State, nor adopt insignia, hymns, uniforms or symbols distinguishing foreign parties or associations.

"Art. 3. The names of the associations, the by-laws, and the rules they may adopt must be written only in the Spanish language.

"Art. 4. No association may engage in acts implying interference, direct or indirect, in the politics of foreign countries; nor engage in any individual or collective act of a compulsory nature to obtain support for certain political ideals, by promising advantages or employing threats of any nature.

"Art. 5. Every association, whether formed by foreigners or not, must originate exclusively in Argentine territory, and their authorities and regulations must also be of local origin. They also must comply with the democratic principles which determine that their resolutions and the election of their authorities must be submitted to the vote of the members.

"Art. 6. No association may depend upon foreign Governments or entities or receive from abroad foreign subsidies or donations of any kind, except those of a charitable nature, which they may accept with the acquiescence of the National Government.

"Art. 7. Foreign associations formed with cultural, artistic, or  
from G-2 Argentina. Report No. 6039. May 16, 1939.

G-2 Report.

3,020-f.

social assistance objects, may operate freely, without any obligations other than those established in Article 1.

"Art. 8. Should the above provisions not be complied with, the guilty association shall be liable to immediate dissolution, in addition to any penalties which its members may have incurred under the existing legislation.

"Art. 9. Existing associations will be allowed a period of 90 days to conform with the provisions of this decree".

The decree was issued under the authority conferred on the Government by paragraph 2 of Article 68 of the National Constitution "without prejudice to submitting to Congress a bill comprising those measures which cannot be ordered by Government decree". This would indicate that legislation for drastic control of Nazi or Fascist activities will be presented to the present session of Congress for enactment.

In a long editorial in this morning's La Prensa (most independent daily in Argentina) the writer chides the Government for its lethargy in not acting against the Nazi organizations in this country - this editorial was evidently written hours before the decree was made public as it is not mentioned. The English-language press gives the decree a warm welcome, calling it a much-needed measure.

Source: As stated.



Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & four copies airmailed May 16th.  
Confirmation by steamer May 19th.

5-1 2657-L-131  
7  
100-1042-131

G-2 Report.

3,020-f.

AIR MAIL

U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION  
NOTICE OF CENSORSHIP

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;  
Investigation of Nazi Activities.

RECEIVED 6/2 W. D. JUL 20 1939

Nazi activities in Argentina are to be the subject of an investigation by the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, the Chamber having voted for such an investigation, after debate during several sessions, on July 6, 1939. Such an investigation was first proposed in 1938 but no action was taken at that time. However, the police investigation a few months ago following the publication of a document - photographed - which was alleged to reveal a Nazi plot to take over Patagonia (Ref. C-2 Rep't 6028, I.G. 3020-f, May 11, 1939) has aroused the legislative body to further action. During the debate on the proposed investigation, Deputies of practically all shades of political opinion spoke on the dangers of Nazi penetration in Argentina in the form of espionage, insidious propaganda, political teachings in the German schools, and the formation of political bodies opposed to Argentine institutions, such as the Labor Front and others.

While the authenticity of the alleged letter on German Embassy stationary describing plans for Patagonia was never proved - as the original of the photograph failed to materialize - the investigation at the time caused the Argentine Government to issue a decree controlling all foreign societies (Ref. G-2 Rep't. 6039, I.G. 3020-f, May 16, 1939) which includes social clubs like the British and American and the veterans organizations of these nationalities.

On July 3, 1939, dispatches from Rome were published in the Buenos Aires press carrying insulting language hurled at the Argentine Parliament for promulgating the law to control foreign societies and associations in Argentina, the source being a resolution passed by the directing body of what may be termed the Fascists Overseas organization.

The dispatch reads: "Interpreting the sentiments of the Argentine blackshirts, the directorate feels itself united with the Italian community in a proud protest against the unheard of provocation by the international canaille established in Parliament in Buenos Aires. The promulgation of this law has the clear aim to undermine and, if possible, to break the ties which united the Italian and Argentine peoples. The central management of Italians abroad is sure that the majority of Argentine citizens, linked as they are to Italy by blood, history and faith, will not allow this affront, which deprives Italians residing there of their most sacred symbols."

The Argentine Foreign Office has called upon the Argentine Ambassador for an official report on this dispatch, and if it is authentic as published here it is reported that Argentina will lodge a formal protest with Italy. Meanwhile, the many Italian schools in Argentina have stated they will carry on under the restrictions made by the Argentine Government.

Source: Press.

*Lester Baker*  
Original & four copies airmailed July 11th. Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Confirmation by steamer July 14th Military Attaché.

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 6074.

July 10, 1939.

RECEIVED MAIL

5-1 2657-L 131

8

G-2 Report.

RECEIVED BY PUBLICACIONES  
Y SERVICIOS JOURNALIS.

3,020-f.

RECEIVED G-2 W. D. 11-12 1939

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;  
Nazis continue Activities in Argentina.

Undeterred by the Hitler-Stalin entente and the recent Argentine decrees looking to the control of foreign entities and their activities in Argentina, the Nazi agents here resumed their work shortly after the outbreak of the war in Europe. However, there is a coolness between Nazi and Fascist organizations here following the Nazi-Communist combination. In the city of Rosario the Rome-Berlin Axis was badly bent by the Berlin-Moscow agreement. The Fascists recently refused to invite any Nazis to an event in honor of Dante, and the Nazis are not inviting their fascist friends socially in retaliation.

Early in October, the Nazis in Buenos Aires began spreading again propaganda in the schools by sending letters and leaflets to the directors of all city schools - one of the leaflets contained the text of a speech by Molotov in criticism of the "war intrigues of Great Britain". Stories of "atrocities" against the Germans by Poles and other conquered people have been sent out in typewritten sheets to Argentines in all walks of life. They are written in Spanish and headed: "Comments on the European "conflict". They are sent in plain envelopes and without any indication of their origin.

"Critica" leading Argentine afternoon daily, published a report on October 24th that Nazi organizations here are preparing a publicity campaign to influence Argentine public opinion against Britain. They are seeking to introduce their propaganda under the guise of "Argentine Nationalism, and signs can already be seen in the number of violently Nationalistic publications which have made their appearance in the past few weeks.

According to "Critica" the Argentine Nationalistic movement has been influenced, if not directed, by the German Embassy in Buenos Aires. The newspaper in question states that several papers are about ready for publication in this city to spread the movement. Their names and contents will be linked with Argentine history. The main weapon will be to create interest in the Falkland Islands, over which Argentina claims ownership although they have flown the British flag for many years.

A German firm here, Critica states, has provided a printing shop for the Partido Social Argentino with valuable machinery, 15,000 kilos of newsprint and 1,000 kilos of ink.

Source: Press.

Original & four copies airmailed Oct. 24th.  
Confirmation by steamer Oct. 27th.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker,  
Colonel, Infantry,  
Military Attaché.

G-2 Report.

6-1 2657-L-131  
10  
6,935-a.

ARGENTINA - Combat.

Subject: Espionage Activities;  
German & Japanese Agents in Liaison.

RECEIVED G/2 W. D. AUG 5 1940

The following unconfirmed report is forwarded to the War Department for its information:

An anti-Fascist informant states that the German sabotage organization has been withdrawn or retired from the West Coast in order to concentrate activities on the East Coast, and that the activities formerly carried on by the Germans on the West Coast have been transferred to Japanese agents.

That Wily Ströecker, reported as the personal representative of the German Secret Service and who maintained offices and residence in the German Embassy in Buenos Aires, was last reported in Rosario, Argentina; that his office and duties have been taken over by Maximilian Grühl, a former member of the Graf Spee crew. Grühl has been previously reported as Goering's personal representative in Argentina. This informant further states that there has been a change in the sabotage personnel, and that Oswald Feldman, Hans Strümmer and Theodore Raft, or Raff, are now working as Grühl's assistants.

He further insists that there is at least one German (or Italian) submarine loose in the South Atlantic, and that liaison is maintained through a shore representative with the German Embassy in Buenos Aires.

Source: As stated.

*M. A. Devine Jr.*  
M. A. Devine, Jr.,  
Major, G. S.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & 5 copies airmailed July 26th.

G-2 Report.

G-2 Report.

6-1 1840  
2657-L-131  
9  
6,935-a(1).}

ARGENTINA - Combat.

Subject: Espionage Activities directed against  
the United States;  
Activities by Germans.

RECEIVED G/2 W. D. JUL 29 1940

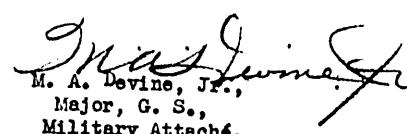
An informant who claims to be in the confidence of German secret agents here in Argentina states that the headquarters of the agents now working in the United States is not located there but that all such activities for the Atlantic coast are directed from Buenos Aires, and that those of the Pacific coast, he believes, from Colombia.

He states that he was drinking with them last night and that during the evening it was stated that plans were made to dispose of President Roosevelt but that the Germans would not be foolish enough to employ a German for the purpose. He stated that these agents said that some Americans hated the President and that they, the Germans, would have no difficulty in arranging this affair as soon as the word was given from higher headquarters.

He reported that one of these German agents had stated the Americans were like children and that they had already forgotten what happened to Lincoln.

I have no means to verify this information but am forwarding it for what it is worth.

Source: As stated.

  
M. A. Devine, Jr.,  
Major, G. S.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & 5 copies airmailed July 16th.

CONFIDENTIAL

Jan 1942

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B 3

The Argentine Press: A REBELLION  
Nationalist and "Colonial"  
Newspapers.  
DR. COEBBELS' NAZI IDEOLOGICAL WAR.

Classification of Newspapers.

Since 1933 our peaceful and very neutral country has been involved in merciless, ideological war. Argentine patriots are racking their brains in an attempt to unravel and to cut the threads that lead into the Propaganda Ministry at Berlin. This is a Sisyphean task, for today it has become almost impossible to the German penetration which has been disguised as "good Argentine". Dr. Goebbels has put his followers in the saddle, and behold! They ride to his full satisfaction.

As in many, almost all countries, the dangerous character of Nazi propaganda was recognised much too late in Argentina. Its aims have been misinterpreted. Nazi propaganda does not merely aim at advertising a political system, but it serves a more definite, a very real end: to destroy an existing political order and to play the government into the hands of subservient fascists. The manual for Nazi propaganda still is "Mein Kampf", the common prayer book of all Nazis, which Goering held up to the leaders of the Nazi party, assembled on October 26, 1935, with these words: "We National Socialists know but one fundamental doctrine, and this is: Adolf Hitler, 'Mein Kampf'. No other book is official, no other fundamental work exists... The Fuehrer has explicitly stated: 'We have an official program, and 'Mein Kampf' contains its official interpretation'. In this book, Nazi propaganda methods are outlined thus: "First aim of propaganda: to enlist men to establish an organisation; first task of this organisation: to enlist men to carry on propaganda. Second aim of propaganda: to destroy

to destroy the existing political order by preaching the new doctrine; second task of the organization: to fight for power. " In foreign countries, Nazi propaganda is systematically carried on by German representatives such as diplomatic agents, chambers of commerce, banks and organisations of "Germans abroad". These are the men that introduce the Trojan Horse into the country by enlisting men (native Argentines) to take over and carry on propaganda, then by establishing organisations of citizens (Quislings) for the purpose of fighting within that foreign country.

To train Quislings takes a great deal of psychology. Goebbels' methods are therefore highly varied. Some may be subject to bribery, on others titles [are conferred or decorations], money was invented to take students, professors, medical men, politicians, etc. into the Reich free of charge. From such a trip the travellers would return, almost without exception, as admirers of "Germany" into their own country. Likes and dislikes of political nature were often cleverly exploited, and it does not take much to hunt up a political backnumber who, with cash payments or promises of an honorable and glorious future, may be induced to perform the role of a future leader (Quisling). As newspapers are one of the most important means of propaganda, many a newspaper proprietor was put back on his feet by subsidy and generous advertising of the German minority.

When Dr. Goebbels, before the war, was looking for foreign collaborators, he slipped twice. To these two incidents we owe much knowledge of the twisted Nazi methods. It so happened that, on November 16, 1933, the Parisian newspaper "Le Petit Parisien" began publication of two very voluminous documents, which the Reich Propaganda Ministry had drawn up for its diplomatic representatives and agents in North and South America.

America. The newspaper explained that it had come into possession of those documents due to an error in the address. Dr. Goebbels reacted immediately; he did not deny the authenticity and maintained, in an attempt to prove the "falsification", that he was not empowered to send instructions of this kind to German representations abroad. This statement was answered by "Le Petit Parisien" by the publication of a law signed by Hitler on June 30, 1933, in which the tasks of foreign propaganda were outlined, as far as they are within the precinct of the propaganda ministry; the paper further published a letter of this same ministry which accompanied the afore-mentioned instructions. To these publications Goebbels did not reply any more.

As we shall have to refer to these ~~secret~~ instructions very frequently further below, we feel obliged to give the preliminaries of the case. Today, almost eight years after this incident, the question as to authenticity or falsification appears to be answered by the course of events; for what we have witnessed in the meantime, in Argentina alone, of Nazi propaganda methods goes to prove that they follow most closely these instructions. Looking back on the period that elapsed since 1933, we might draw them up ourselves - had they not been available in print already in November 1933.

"Les instructions secrètes de la propagande allemande", the authenticity of which Goebbels denied at that time, stress the necessity of winning sympathy for the Third Reich in America. Those who, at that time, knew nothing of Nazi mentality, - and this includes all Big Powers - looked upon them as a sort of first and inept effort of a newcomer in international politics. They were not taken seriously - an attitude which, no doubt, made Goebbels particularly happy.

The German Reich Propaganda Minister met with another accident

incident, which is also of interest within the scope of this article, in the year 1935. At that time the public came to know, through a coincidence, Goebbels' opinion on the Argentine press, in the following manner: a Swiss newspaper editor published, in the September issue of the year given, in the periodical "Schweizer Spiegel", a bribery proposition that was made to him by a Goebbels agent, to induce him to place his newspaper at the disposal of Nazi propaganda. From the discussion that ensued between the writer of the article and the loquacious Goebbels man we learn details about the division of the foreign press and the methods that should be applied to it on the part of the Germans:

1. The anti-fascist papers which must be denounced as sold out to Jews and bolsheviks.
2. the big, independent dailies, which, according to Goebbels, may be dangerous and as regards which ~~an~~ any attempt to bribe will fail. These papers must be exposed to public opinion ~~as~~ circumstances allow.
3. the so-called neutral newspapers, mostly provincial papers of small importance which do not exercise the least political influence, which, however, may be easily induced, by serving them information~~s~~ free of charge and extending other favours, to spread fascist ideas.
4. the press which actively works for Germany, in the first place Nationalist newspapers, next purely demagogical press productions and periodicals, such as ~~such~~ scientific periodicals, ~~as~~ in as much as they are susceptible to material favours, where Germans go freely in and out and more or less control the tendency of the publication.

In this article we shall closely rely on this classification.

"La Prensa", "La Nación", and "La Razón".

There is not much to be said on the newspapers of class 1. Here belong all organs of democratic or marxist tendency which, even in the early days of National Socialism, were denounced as "Jewish" or "bolshevist" and therefore considered incurable. They are the natural enemies of National Socialism. The method applied here is extermination, not conversion.

To class 2 belonged, until 1937, "La Prensa", "La Nación", and "La Razón". In that year "La Razón" was promoted from the second into the fourth group; the case is so interesting that we shall deal with it at length further below. To the present day, however, "La Prensa" and "La Nación" have invariably been classified under No.2, and "La Razón" has returned to the proximity of this group. An article which these papers publish against National Socialism or against "autochthonic" fascism signifies a serious moral verdict in such organs of splendid reputation and independent opinion. Such things are greatly resented in Berlin. It is difficult to brand these newspapers as bought by Jews or bolsheviks, for this no one would believe. For this reason, in the "autochthonic" Nationalist press a new designation has been invented: the "colonial" press, to express that they are in the pay of the big powers of Great Britain and North America that exploit Argentina "colonially".

Nothing can be more annoying to the Nazi rulers than the truthful information and objective reports on the Reich's internal conditions and foreign policy that appear in the columns of the big, independent papers of the country. Goebbels' secret instructions say: "The attitude of the Latin American press has become (i.e. 1933. The Auth.) very disagreeable... The influential big papers lack, to a deplorable degree, understanding and impartiality as regards the New Germany".

The newspapers of the second group were fully aware of the intentions of the German propaganda minister and looked upon the German information service with suspicion. Berlin realised that their expectations were not fulfilled:

"It has become apparent that the big newspapers, like "La Prensa" in Argentina, are using the German information service much less than before the National Socialist revolution. The explanation may be found in the fact that they suspect behind our cable information, a decidedly German, tendentious propaganda, which the newspapers do not wish to dish up to their readers."

As the papers just named refused to be caught in the net of Hitler propaganda, they were denounced as enemies of Germany, "sold to French and English and North American interests. This defamation campaign corresponds to the directions given by the German propaganda ministry in its informations, according to which those newspapers that do not treat Germany favorably are to be exposed and neutralised in some way or other in the political struggle;

"Here, for example, relations to fascist elements will prove helpful. Such elements are now to be found in Latin American countries too. These organs have to be exposed to public opinion in some way or other, and their attitude has to be characterised as that of a corrupted press."

As far as this is concerned, the Goebbels business is admirably taken care of by the Spanish-language papers of fascist tendency that appear here, such as "Crisol", "La Fronda", "Bandera Argentina", and "Aduna", and later "El Pampero", "Nuevo Orden" and "El Restaurador".

To the second group of Argentine newspapers belonged, as we said above, "La Razón" until May 8, 1937. "La Razón", likewise, had

had been the target of the most spiteful attacks. When this paper published an article entitled "Stalin No. 1 and No. 2" on August 8, 1935, which described the identical methods of the German and Russian dictatorships, a storm of indignation was released in the Nazi press. "Der Trommler", the Buenos Aires Nazi weekly, even went to the extent of printing, in No. 65 of 1935, barely veiled threats: the gentlemen should be careful to express themselves more cautiously in the future, otherwise they (of the "Trommler") would be forced to call them to order in a very disagreeable way. But neither in the year 1935, nor in 1937, nor today are the Nazis in a position to employ brute force in Argentina, in order to "call to order" an Argentine newspaper. Then a miracle happened. And in May, 1937, "La Razón" was promoted - if only for a short time - into the fourth class of Argentine newspapers.

How, technically, a such a surprising transformation is carried out, we do not, of course, know. We only see the facts, we read in the Nazi press the praise of the editors who "underwent a significant inner transformation". All at once, there appeared in the news columns the well-known Transocean telegrams - they have disappeared from these columns again - and an anti-democratic tendency that could not be overlooked became apparent, particularly in the "special information" service. This special service from "European capitals" was prepared, naturally, in the laboratories of the German propaganda minister. On May 8, 1937, there occurred in the offices of "La Razón" the famous landslide. The paper published a 32-page special edition on Nazi Germany, boasting the régime and its leaders. All informations and illustrations of this special issue were furnished by Nazi propaganda and was presented under Nazi aspects. German firms doing business in Argentina paid for full page advertisements, and this product

product was sent "in many thousands of copies, into the interior of the country and into neighbouring countries"; so it had been recognised by Berlin as valuable propaganda material.

We must here call attention to a distinction that is being made by Nazi propaganda, but which is not generally known. Whereas in the Argentine press "articles must appear in a form which makes it difficult to mark them down as propaganda", special editions are made up differently. The purpose of a special edition is to make one, big, lasting impression on the readers. The instructions have this to say:

"Very important are the so-called special editions of big newspapers which offer an opportunity to impress the reader on one given date with an abundance of propaganda material."

As a matter of principle, no objection could be raised against special issue which a newspaper publishers under its own journalistic responsibility. It is, however, a different matter to issue such an edition under the tacit supervision and subvention of a foreign ideology which is hostile to the country and has but one aim: political undermining. A newspaper that allows itself to be used for such purposes deceives its readers who do not know that back of this edition there is a hostile initiative. It deceives its readers who get nothing but a Nazi paper in Spanish language.

We must emphasize that "La Razón" has again become the target of fascist attacks and so has found <sup>back</sup> into the proximity of the second class newspaper.

We do not propose to deal extensively with the newspapers of group 3. Most of them cannot simply be accused of being bribed. Many an unsuspecting editor of a provincial paper has become a victim of Nazi methods and has lent his columns, without being aware of the fact, to

Any Nazi propaganda. We need only remind of the many enthusiastic "travel reports" which were, with secret political intentions, introduced into the provincial press. The authors were native Argentines who spoke their hearts on the beautiful experiences in the Reich.

A particular role has been played for years by the Transocean service which was, for financially weak provincial papers, naturally a very convenient means of avoiding the expensive cable and information service. However, we also know from Goebbels' informations, that this service is not only free of charge, but that, besides, in certain cases cash payments are made. The informations say:

"In the case of an article for the publication of which there is a particular interest and the importance of which has to be indicated in every case by head offices, the publisher or editor may be paid, if necessary, a certain sum for publication."

Such "elastic" methods have given the propaganda ministry great influence over the Argentine press, or at least part of it. In many cases the influence exercised by this foreign ministry is much more powerful than that of the Argentine government. This paradoxical case becomes apparent in the fourth class of newspapers.

Argentine quislings riding the Trojan Horse.  
Department VII of the Propaganda Ministry.

There is hardly any country on earth where the Reich has so many interests at stake, and where at the same time conditions are as propitious as in Argentina. For this reason, the propaganda machine of the Nazis in this country is particularly well equipped, and its expense

expense account enormous. The road to be taken is indicated in a decree of the German propaganda ministry of October 9, 1933:

"Department VII must create abroad understanding for the ideas of National Socialism... The lofty ideas of the Führer are translated into the principal languages and handed to members of parliament and men of confidence. In this respect it is important to enlist the collaboration of prominent foreigners who possess objective judgment and literary skills... Department VII must supervise the work of the foreign organizations abroad and finance it, and so must be able to control and to determine the political line to be followed".

"The Trojan Horse", i.e. the organization of Germans abroad, has been given the task to carry out this ministerial decree. As the president of the "Institute for the Germans Abroad" in Stuttgart, Herr Stroelin, said in August 1936: "The Germans living abroad are the responsible mouthpiece of the ideas of the new Reich, in their relations with German residents as well as other nationals".

On Nazi activities in Argentina a great deal has come to light in recent years, so on the part played by the embassy, the chamber of commerce, and particularly the German Railways Propaganda Office run by Delfino. More dangerous, however, are their underground activities, which are largely covered by native Argentine citizens. Goebbels, in his instructions, says:

"It is of special importance to win over public opinion in the countries of the big American continent. Only in this way can we make sure that the governments are, if this should be necessary, under pressure of public opinion. It is obvious, however, that this must be done with the greatest caution so that neither the sources, nor the true aims of propa-

propaganda may be recognized."

As to regards the francophile attitude of large sections of Latin American opinion, the instructions say:

"Our main purpose is to combat the mostly unpolitical preference of Latin American populations for France, which should be done rather by pro-German, than by anti-French propaganda, without, however, neglecting to the anti-French tendency".

According to Hitler's principles: first task of propaganda is the enlistment of men to found an organization, adapted to mean: for the foundation of a future Argentine, Nationalist propaganda press, they began very early to engage in expensive propaganda. Cobbold:

"On all fields of German propaganda abroad it is of very special propaganda importance to turn to the academic youth and to influence them towards forming a Nationalist ideology. It is just as important to spread the same views among university professors, because they exercise a great influence on youth."

A very effective means of spreading pro-Nazi, anti-French and Nationalist views among the academic youth and the university professors was, before the war, the organisation of trips to Germany on a large scale. Here again we must say that, as a matter of principle, tourist propaganda for any given country is not in itself objectionable. But while many countries, such as Switzerland, Austria, France, etc. advertised to attract the stream of tourists into their territory and so obtain foreign exchange, Nazi propaganda had from the beginning a very different meaning. In most cases, tourists brought no exchange to Germany, but could live an opulent life at half, or one fourth of the normal price, and in many cases ~~free~~ without any expense to themselves. This "tourist travel" was promoted not to promote tourism, or to obtain exchange, but

but merely had a propaganda purpose. Travellers, naturally, would come back home full of pride, and were transformed into living propagandists of Nazism. Most of these trips extended over many weeks, some over several months. "Propaganda cultural" they call it in Buenos Aires, and the "Institución Cultural Argentino-alemana" arranged for the sending of students to the Reich. The threads to the "Ibero-American Institute" then run via the "Academic Exchange" directly into Rosenberg's office. Dr. Alfaro, President of the "Institución Cultural", years ago advised students to learn the German language, so that the young Argentines later "came to know the soul of Germany". On May 21 1936, according to the subsidized paper, 800 persons took part in such a course. Then follow "Study trips" to Germany, with the result that - again according to the Goebbels sheet - no participant returned to his country who had not become a convinced and subservient friend of Germany. Many of them, the paper went on to say, have given enthusiastic reports, orally and in writing, on their inextinguishable impressions. Invitations into the Reich were also extended by the German Academy in Munich, the South American Institute in Nuerzburg, by scientific, athletic, and journalistic associations in Germany. An important part was played also by the "Academia de Medicos Germano-Ibero-Americanos", the "Asociación Alemana" in Buenos Aires, etc. On the other hand, a host of "culture bombers" came from the Reich into South America and particularly Argentina, propagandists who "travelled in culture" and "dealt in culture". The notorious district leader Kaufmann expressed himself on group travels of Latin American university men as follows: "They awaken a deep understanding for the ideas that are the foundation of the New Germany" (Hamburger Nachrichten, April 11, 1937). Now we know: it was not a question of furthering scientific interests, which only were a pretence, but of spreading political influence in favour of "New Germany". We must make particular mention of a group of 400 South Americans who travelled to Germany in 1937. Among them there was a delegation lead by the afore-mentioned Dr. Alfaro.

Dr. Alfaro. This expedition was organised by the "Academia Médica Germano-Iber-American" for Argentina, by "I.G. Farben" (the German chemical trust), and the German Railways Head Office. The Goebbels paper did not forget to stress that the South American guests were shown all over Germany, and that all expenses were paid for them. This is, to say the least, a very singular and, so far, unheard-of kind of "propaganda to promote tourism".

Travels to Germany - a full success.

Tourists to Germany - students, journalists, physicians, engineers, sportsmen and teachers - , who in most cases had caused a heavy expense for the Reich, returned to their South American home country. Many, perhaps most of them, did not know a word of German, but they had understood everything that was offered to them. They reported on their magnificent excursions through Germany, their splendid accommodation in first class hotels, their stay in fashionable summer resorts. Wherever they went, they were accompanied in the Reich by obliging guides who taught them the virtues of Germany. Nazi parades, splendid festivals, excellent organisation, marvellous technique - these were the unforgettable impressions they had received of German "culture". They travellers had been altogether convinced that Germany was the most peace-loving country on earth, that it had been deprived of all its weapons by the "ignominious treaty of Versailles", and that it was at the mercy of "invidious neighbours thirsting for war". They told of the "brutal spite" of the French who threw a beautiful and - they knew it - hospitable Germany into one of the worst political crises and into economic misery.

Dr. Eduardo Mariano, who stated that all Argentine papers were invited to reprint his impressions, published a hymn of praise on November 6, 1936 (cp. the local Nazi paper); he spoke of the great "philosophical

"philosophical mission" of New Germany; of the disappearance of the unemployed (the feverish rearmament work for which they were drafted he did not mention); of historical buildings, of Hitler's high morality. Dr. Warcalde (Córdoba), who stayed for two long years in Germany, felt happy to have been received "with open arms". He was fully convinced that the Nazis had introduced "true socialism". A teacher, Josefina Acosta, was enthused about German educational methods, and called them "unique in the world", and demanded that Argentinian education should be modelled along these lines. Sr. Rodolfo Villegas reported that outside of Germany the political atmosphere had created a high degree of nervous tension so that "one may be happy to be back in Germany". He assured us that, after he had seen "Thousands fighting for the One" at the party rally in Nuernberg, his enthusiasm for Germany was sincere. For every traveller the Reich had something else to offer: for the friends of democracy (!), for the supporters of Catholicism (!), for those interested in mass demonstrations, in the theatre, in literature. And, of course, in politics. As an example may serve part of a report which Dr. Juan Carlos Vaccaro published on December 13, 1937 in the Nazi paper: at first he described life in France where strikes and terror reigned and where no food was to be had; consequences of the French alliance with Russia. This "crime" committed by France is, of course, in direct contrast to Germany (grammophone record as above).

This list might be prolonged for a long time, but we believe we may save us the trouble and conclude with the words of the Nazi paper (June 30, 1937) saying that tourist propaganda had become an effective political instrument in the hands of German government. If even the Nazi paper arrives at this conclusion, there is no reason why we should strain ourselves to contradict the facts.

One word must be said on the methods by which foreign visitors

visitors to Germany were soon over. One did not hesitate to build castles in the air for them. While this assertion may be corroborated by the quotations given above, from reporters who believed - we do not in any way wish to belittle the importance of these personalities - , generally speaking, to the big ones of visitors, one wonders at the report of a particularly highly placed Argentine personality. Then travelling through Europe in 1937, the well-known politician Dr. Matias Sanchez Borondo also visited the Reich. He talked with the most prominent leaders and brought with him, on return, a project of building auto roads, of which, he said, "8000 km had already been completed in Germany." This detail, of course, was given to him by the highest authority of the Reich. A German publication, however, of September 1937, contradicts his statement. Here Reich auto-strade architect Todt renders account of his work during the first four years of the Hitler régime. According to Todt, 1500 km had been completed up to then, and he hoped to complete 2000 until the end of the year. This detail, though not in any way shocking, must be considered, however, as an example to show how little hesitation there was on the part of Hitler's representatives to give a false impression even to very well-known and highly placed politicians, and to hand out incorrect data. The question, therefore, is permitted: what, then, did they tell the rest of the visitors?

"Spiritual war" in Argentina.

Travels to Germany are but one of the many methods employed by the Hitler régime from the beginning to exercise a destructive influence in Argentina. They are of interest for us because the Argentine press was chosen to spread the "impressions" of many individual travellers in the form of reports and interviews among the general public and thereby to reinforce

reinforce Nazi propaganda.

In order to make the press serve ~~exact~~ National Socialist propaganda in yet another way, the secret instructions recommend:

"It is the duty of our confidential agents abroad to establish contact with influential personalities, institutions, and the press, particularly with fascist organisations and newspapers. In this respect, already existing fascist organisations and newspapers is to be given the highest consideration. Fascist organisations all over the world, be their local influence ever so unimportant, are the spontaneous allies of New Germany. Although their tendency is rather towards Italian fascism or National fascism, nevertheless they will always be more capable of understanding the German interests than other organizations, and besides they will, in most cases, establish valuable contacts between the German agents and certain politicians and, in a general way, render more valuable service than the already existing German local and territorial organisations which have often become the object of grave suspicion".

When reading the phrases just quoted, the inevitable question arises: can this be falsified? Have we not witnessed how this was ~~re~~ materialised in almost all countries? In Austria, the Sudeten, in Holland, in Belgium, France, Switzerland, the Baltic countries, in the Balkan states, in Spain, England, classical Norway (Quisling) and, last not least, the United States (Lindbergh, Wheeler, etc.)? In the instructions, again and again particular emphasis is placed on the statement that this kind of conspiratorial activity has to be carried on with the utmost caution so as not to leave any traces that lead to the German authorities. "Nationalism" is the mask behind which Goebbels hides, whether its exponents <sup>are</sup> such Mosley, Degrelle, Mussert, Leonhardt, Codreanu, Lindbergh or any others. Most fascist organisations of the world are of the National Socialist, and not

not the Italian or Spanish fascist brand. These organisations and their press represent National Socialism as the very champion of respectability, culture, civilization, pacifism, socialism and Christian morale, as a "true friend" of all nations that wages war against the evil in the world. The Nationalist press of Argentina has to attend to that part of the work of disintegration which the Germans themselves cannot risk to do, because otherwise they would obviously come into conflict with the law. Even under the presidency of general Justo some newspapers, like "Crisol", "Bandera Argentina", etc., expressed what the Nazi paper could not say: that the elected president Ortiz was an instrument of the Jews and of British-North American finance. Such defamation - as we knew it only in the times of pre-Hitler Germany - are intended to instigate the people against the parties and against the government. Demagogical preparation will be followed by "revolutionary" movements and street terror. The typically German-fascist process.

This is then called: "Spiritual War in Argentina". As the "Stosstrupp", Buenos Aires, said as early as in its October edition of 1935:

"Germany today fights not with arms, but with economic and spiritual weapons".

The ideological war <sup>can</sup> must not only be looked upon as a preparation for military warfare, as we experienced it in so many instances of recent European history. By internally weakening a future enemy who is incessantly being assured of friendship, Hitler-Germany prepares his military defeat. Thus says Albrecht Blau, of the Reich War Ministry, in "Propaganda as a Weapon", that propaganda is a war weapon of appreciative effects. And Bunsen, in "Military Science", page 21, points out that the study of the psychology of other nations must be begun in times of peace, the more

the more secretly the better. In an energetic, but disguised form influence must be exercised over press, radio, cinema, public institutions and trends of public opinion in enemy countries and must be coordinated with espionage. Spiritual war, says Banac, is the war that a government wages with spiritual weapons in order to increase their prestige and to affect that of adversaries all over the world.

It has been the tragic fate of almost all countries - here we must, by the way, include Germany herself and Russia - not to have recognized, at any time, the "war" of the Nazis. They concluded pacts and agreements with National Socialism and allowed themselves to be slaughtered whenever their turn came. The United States, realising that subversive activities and instigatory propaganda, ~~is~~ inasmuch as it cannot be checked by the laws of the country, nor suppressed by the sterile work of investigation committees, have bottled up the principal sources and centres of such propaganda, Transocean, the German Library of Information, the Reich Railways Office and the consulates. In doing this, however, they have not by far been able to block all channels.

The Press of Argentine Nationalists.

Goebbels' Agency "Transocean".

The Nationalist newspaper "Choque", in No.24, June 20, of its first year of publication 1941, asks what objections could possibly be raised against using the Transocean cables. Why not attack the A.P., U.P., Reuter, and other agencies? Transocean, admittedly, has never lied, the German agency transmits news and nothing but news, and if they may be had free of charge - why, could one not get the British service likewise free of charge? In a similar vein, "Nuevo Orden" also entered the lists

the lists in defence of the Goebbels agency. Inasmuch as we have not yet answered these questions in the foregoing paragraphs, we shall do so now.

When, last month, the three German information agencies, Transocean, German Library of Information, and Reich Railways Office, were closed in the United States, the fact became known that these Goebbelsbranch offices had not been engaged in any legitimate business whatsoever, which would necessarily require payment for services rendered in order to avoid bankruptcy. The German news agencies in charge of "spiritual war" in Neutralia, spent the surprisingly high amount of 750.000 dollars annually in the United States. This expenditure is not a war time item, which might be considered as an attenuating circumstance, but represents the cost of "spiritual war" as it has been waged in North America since the outbreak of the jungle in Germany. No other nation in the world allows, in times of peace, for the luxury of such expensive news agencies; because no nation can have the intention, nor did have it, to make war on the world. 350± 350.000 dollars per year were spent by the German Library alone, and something like 125.000 subscribers all over America received the gratuitous informations, because no customer for this German export article was to be found anywhere. These news, which so far reached us via New York, will now probably find their way here directly from Berlin.

The secret instructions say that enormous expenditures are necessary because rearmament and an active German diplomacy will bring us very close to war (we again emphasize that these instructions date to the year 1933):

Authoritative German circles know that in the case of military conflict the attitude of public opinion all over the world, with the ex-

with the exception of the countries directly affected, is of the greatest importance. Past events have shown that the factor of a hostile world opinion should not be underestimated, and therefore enormous sacrifices have to be brought for the purpose of winning over world opinion".

The directions for a peacefully conducted German foreign policy, which took Germany to the abyss, read:

"For foreign consumption, and always in accordance with our principal propaganda aims, we must emphasize that Germany seeks nothing else but a peaceful adjustment of unsolved problems. In this way we will and must achieve that in a given case at least part of world opinion is under the impression that Germany, after all efforts made towards a peaceful solution have failed, has no other choice but to claim justice by using force".

These instructions further give expression to the belief that the official German service of "Transocean" may come to have the greatest importance in the South American press, once it succeeds to drive out the big agencies of Havas, United Press, and Associated Press by underhand plotting. Transocean employees therefore are advised to contact employees of other news agencies abroad who may be given "small favours".

"Recent (i.e. at the end of 1933! The auth.) has shown that it is not impossible to establish certain non-official relations with representatives of non-German information agencies which have their offices in the respective countries."

In order to obtain "certain informations of certain value" the author of the instructions recommends a very direct way of approach: bribery:

"In the future, head offices will make very energetic efforts to obtain certain informations from employees of agencies in the other camp, and to get into the possession of material through the propagation of which these agencies may be exposed... By this we aim at severing, whenever possible, the connections between these agencies and the newspapers they serve".

To illustrate this, an "trick" is described which was played on the former Havas agency in Brazil. The instructions go on to state that such "incidents" may occasionally give rise to diplomatic intervention, and this is the desired opportunity for German "indignation" and subsequent demands for the "satisfaction of honour" - this then is our opinion.

"Transocean" and "D.N.B." (German news bureau) presented themselves to South American newspapers under an "absolutely neutral" flag. Strictly neutral, to such a degree that they placed their service gratuitously at the disposal of financially weak subscribers from the very beginning. The instructions recommend that, when the German information service is being introduced, "non-German agents must deal exclusively with the responsible director". "The promise of certain financial advantages, which may be worded with the utmost caution and brought up under any pretence whatever, ", are, according to the instructions, permissible. It has not come to our knowledge what kind of promises" made with the utmost caution" are referred to, and if, for example, this method has been employed in Argentina. But when we look through the advertising columns of certain newspapers and there find German ads in a concentrated form, we can imagine how a skilful hand directs the stream of German subsidies - at least in this one way.

"uring the first years of National Socialism, besides granting subsidies, also other methods must have been employed, the nature of which we ignore", for the instructions place the greatest emphasis on the fact that "in a Nazi "supported" paper no advertisements of German firms may appear, because "observers are likely to draw their conclusions therefrom". In time of war, this measure does not seem to be in force....

The dangerous character of German news agencies can never be proved by pointing to illegal measures or careless handling of a matter. The Germans are known to be very thorough people whose accounts are always square. The book "Germany is Caliban" says of the Nazis that they are highwaymen who always give a receipt. The receipt will be at hand, at any time. The danger lies in a different field, in the so-called "spiritual" field, where Binet and the German general staff wage their war against the neutrals. Only exceptional measures, as those carried out by the United States, are effective.

#### Newspaper

Newspapers of Class 4.

We really and truly owe to the efficient Reich propaganda minister Goebbels our knowledge about the person that is in charge of the "ideological war in Argentina. He is it himself. Anti-semitism is known as one of the ugliest Nazi export articles, and ideology which is being spread with zeal by the Nationalist newspapers of Argentina. It is a so-called "spiritual" weapon. As can no more be denied, this article is "made in Germany", with regard to which the "Voelkische Beobachter" (the official party organ), of February 15, 1935, had to say the following:

"Until 1933 the Jewish question did not exist in South American countries. Jews were looked upon as a religious denomination, just as the

the Catholics and the Protestants. Then, in April 1933, there appeared in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Santiago de Chile, militant newspapers of a decidedly anti-Jewish tendency, and the middle class - clerical papers likewise began to take an interest in the Jewish question".

The newspaper "Crisol" of "primer camarada Osés" took up the militant anti-Jewish tendency, and Nazi party periodical, the "Trommler", correspondingly carried for months an advertisement:

"Crisol is the only Argentine newspaper which openly and sincerely takes a stand for Hitler Germany".

Here, then appeared the Transocean cables and information. But whereas "Crisol" carried largely anti-British propaganda, and anti-semitism only as a sideline, it was the other way around with "Clarínada". In order to popularize German propaganda articles, free copies were forwarded to priests and church people. In these copies they could read that Hitler was the saviour of Christian civilization, and that no priest in any part of the world would be allowed to read mass, had not the Führer stemmed the red tide of bolshevism. Under the guise of this mendacious propaganda, the Protestant and Catholic churches were being persecuted in the Reich.

In his secret instructions, Goebbels advises his agents to enter into personal relations with influential journalists and newspapers editors. These instructions were carried out, and in 1937 we see the director of "La Frontera" sail for Germany. On his return he simply stated: "Germany sets an example to the world".

As to the furnishing of illustrations, Goebbels demands that charges must be low, or not mentioned at all. The German agents, however, must insist that the publishing paper publishes also the corresponding text.

The same practice was applied to correspondents' contributions and "special" articles, the most essential part of Goebbels propaganda.

With other products of newspapers of the fourth class we shall deal below. Here we only wish to mention that all "men of German blood" are under obligation to read them and to boycott all others. One of the most notorious products of this kind, the "Pumpero", we purposely omit here. It bears the German stamp so clearly, from the first to the last page (ap. the advertisements), that we may consider it to be a German newspaper printed in the Spanish language.

The fourth class is for the Third Reich the field on which it intervenes freely in Argentine politics, foreign and domestic. For the proprietors of these papers are pure-boozed, Aryan Argentines, who only oppose the present régime and have nothing in common with foreigners - excepting the adoption of German fighting slogans! A fascist dictatorship and perhaps a certain autonomy for the German minority, the old story since the slaughter of the Austrian state. Here an internal desintegration takes place on a large scale for the purpose of paralyzing "in an emergency" the vital, defensive forces of the state. The leaders of this faction call themselves Nationalistic, not by any means National.

#### The "Offensive of the Colonials".

The Nationalistic press carries on the campaign against the "colonials", as ordered by Goebbels, with the greatest persistency. In the periodical "Nuevo Orden" there is a permanent column, of "review of the press", to which the paper adds its "comment". In this column, in No. 48 of the periodical named, the following statement is made under the title "La ofensiva de los coloniales":

"The offensive of the colonials against nationalism is, in reality, but a part of another offensive... against neutrality."

Here we must explain what is understood in that camp under neutrality. We take this "conception" from the recently published periodical "El Restaurador" ("Organo de combate al servicio de la Grande Argentina"), which says:

"More than ever before are we, today, Europe. The end of liberal democracy is near. The whole of Europe, excepting England, has ceased to be liberal. We live outside of history, not taking part in the universal upheaval, not taking part in the battle of principles and ideas which mankind is debating today... We are already vanquished by our miserable pacifism that prevents us from doing any heroic deed... In Europe, in this moment, the future is decided. Germany has proved that she possesses an invincible army. Day by day the British empire suffers another defeat, and the day of its ultimate defeat seems to be near.... North America will make a clean sweep of Latin America. The Yankees believe that these countries, like subsidiary enterprises, are willing to obey the call of the metropolis, Washington... Our fate would be a miserable one, could we not count on Europe. Europe will save us. There is one thing about the British defeat that makes us extraordinarily glad; there is a voice of conscience alive in those Argentines who wish for a big and free country, and this conscience tells them that the beginning of national liberation has commenced with the triumph of the totalitarian powers on the battle fields and on the seas."

Thus, it is here no more a question of neutrality, to which Argentina adheres in her relations to the belligerents, but of passing over, with colours flying, into the camp of the totalitarians, following the example of the Southeastern European countries or of Vichy France,

giving up national sovereignty, handing over the fleet, fettering industries, transporting Argentine workers into foreign countries and everything that goes with it.

But to return to "Nuevo Orden". This periodic I censures the "colonials" for being engaged in a campaign against neutrality:

"The violent attack was started partly by fear - the fear of the guilty - and partly by orders from overseas. 'La Nación' and 'La Prensa' and, with minor zeal, 'La Razón' and, we suppose, also 'Crítica' have released a mighty storm this last week. We select an issue of 'La Nación' of June 8, in which the announced Culicati bill for the 'defence of democracy' is dealt with..."

Then follow quotations from "La Nación" and "La Prensa", which "Nuevo Orden" holds up to ridicule in a mean way, without going into the essence of the matter. "A stampede... the earth shaking beneath their feet... punishment for their crimes against the country..." and more such silliness.

Had we not come to know the success of Hitler-Goebbels-propaganda before and after 1933, we should be inclined to belittle the silliness of such argumentation and to overlook the threats expressed. For a certain section of the Argentine public this may sound new, interesting, and awfully heroic: they do not know yet the voice of the master.

In another issue "Nuevo Orden" says, under the title: "Sigue la ofensiva":

"The offensive against the neutrality of Argentina continues... 'La Nación' of the 13th inst., e.g., states the following: 'It suffices

suffices to recall the ~~M~~numerous and undeniable instances of systematic activity in our midst, which tend to undermine the constitutional order and to conquer all kinds of positions for the defence of foreign interests. This systematic, varied, and expensive campaign is not meant to serve minor objectives. Its orientation and its resources come from abroad."

And what does "Nuevo Orden" answer to refute this grave charge? Only: "Cree el ladrón que todos son de su condición". This "denial" is <sup>as</sup> weak ~~that~~ <sup>as</sup> that of Goebbels, when he denied the authenticity of the secret instructions. By the way, the Nationalist newspaper *el ladrón* itself. "Cree el ladrón que todos son de su condición" - did not "Nuevo Orden" first throw dirt on "La Prensa" and "La Nación", when it stated that these papers carried out "instructions from overseas"?

#### Down with Pan-American Co-operation!

The Argentine government has repeatedly declared its intention to follow a course of strict neutrality, but it is a matter of the future whether this attitude can be maintained all through the war. In case war should extend to this continent, the Argentine government might be forced to modify its views one way or the other. This is a hypothetical case, and should it arise, it would be up to the government alone to define the position of the country. Nevertheless, questions of future policy are being passionately discussed in the press, and it is again the propaganda of the Nationalist press that commands our principal interest. The question, whether an attack should be expected at all, and who might be the aggressor, has been answered already by this press. "Nuevo Orden" of June 11, 1941:

"To make the matter perfectly clear, Hitler stated, in an interview which he granted a few days ago to a North American journalist, that the idea of a German invasion into territories of the Western Hemisphere appeared to him 'as phantastic as the conquest of the moon'. - Roosevelt is not so stupid as to ignore this... The war which the axis powers are said to provoke is but a pretence to enclose the whole of America in a ring of steel. What Roosevelt drives at in this: to force <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ dictatorial will on the whole continent, particularly on South America, as Central America is already caught more than half in the gilded web <sup>by</sup> of Pan-Americanism."

They go on to say that Roosevelt is trying to create a state of latent war against the liberty, the dignity, the economic independence of Latin America, a war without guns and without bloodshed, which is in the long run just as destructive as any other war.

Not a single Nationalist printed sheet has been able to produce evidence for this ever repeated assertion, nor are they able to do so, for there is, as a matter of fact, in the entire North American literature not a single piece of writing in which the necessity for, or the intention of the United States to enslave South America is contained. The insinuation that president Roosevelt's Pan-American policy serves "the designs of conquest", is merely a National Socialist argument, which has also been adopted by the Wheeler- and Lindbergh-people. The Nationalists of Argentina, who pretend to care so much for the welfare of their country, purposely overlook the fact that German writings give abundant evidence of German intentions on America and the Pacific "spaoe". This offensive which is being carried on all over the country against Pan-American co-operation aims, on the part of Germany, at a clearly recognizable object-

Objective: if ever the Argentine government should be called upon to decide between surrender to Hitler's demands, or to reject them and to resolve, in co-operation with the other American countries, on the defence of the country then the government is to be deprived of its liberty of action by the pressure of the Nationalists. As Goebbels' instructions say:

"It is of very special importance to win over again public opinion in the countries of the big, American continent for Germany. Only in this way we can make sure that, if need be, public opinion exercises pressure on the governments which to a high degree depend on it".

It is particularly alarming to know that Hitler again emphatically declares that an invasion of America is "fantastic"; this is already the first step towards an offer of friendship, which then will be followed, as usual, by breaking the pact, and by military intervention. Hitler's European policy showed that he has a rather crude system: words of honour, which are broken in a disgusting way, and pacts to lead future victims astray, to weaken them, and then to pounce on them. We can see no reason why, after so much success in Europe he should employ a different system in America, if he is given an opportunity to reach out his hand that far. (cp. Banac, "The Pacific Space"). In the opinion of the columnists who are given space in Nationalist newspapers, the Argentine government must not attempt to join hands with the North, but must follow a policy of strict isolation, which is just what Hitler Germany needs.

On the authenticity of Goebbels' instructions we wish to make one concluding remark: the weak denial of the Reich propagand minister is exposed as ridiculous by the Nationalist press of Argentina. Everybody has an opportunity, every day, to convince himself of the fact.

6721.

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA.

JWL/W

July 21, 1941.

Subject: Translations from anti-Nazi German Newspaper in Buenos Aires.

To: A. C. of S., G-2, War Department, Washington, D. C.

1. As of possible interest to the War Department, there are forwarded herewith two lengthy translations of articles appearing recently in "Argentinisches Tageblatt", which is an important journal in the German colony.

2. The Tageblatt is consistently anti-Nazi in its utterances and the enclosed are typical of its attitude.

*John W. Lang*

John W. Lang,  
Colonel, Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

2 encs.

*John W. Lang*  
July 21, 1941

# Argentinisches Tageblatt

*Argentinisches Tageblatt*  
*An Argentine Antinazi Daily in German Language*

Largest Circulation of German Papers in Latin America — Founded 1889 — Weekly edition founded 1878

Tucumán 307 - 09 - 13

Buenos Aires

U. T. 31 Retiro 3051/52

July 10, 1941.

## Review of Opinions and Informations

The "Argentinisches Tageblatt" wishes to call the attention of its English-speaking friends to an article on Nazi propaganda methods in Argentina which appeared in its 9th of July edition. The Ed.

### THE ARGENTINE PRESS: NATIONALIST AND "COLONIAL" NEWSPAPERS.

#### Classification of Newspapers.

As in most countries, the dangerous character of Nazi propaganda in Argentina was recognised much too late. Nazi propaganda is dangerous because it does not merely advertise a political system, but serves a more definite, a very real end: to destroy an existing political order and to play the government machine into the hands of subservient fascists. Ever since Hitler's rise to power in 1933, our peaceful and very neutral country has been the victim of merciless ideological attack. Argentine patriots are racking their brains in an attempt to unravel the threats that lead to the Nazi propaganda ministry. This is a Sisyphean task. For today it is almost impossible to unmask Goebbel's Argentine followers. He has put them in the saddle; and they ride to his full satisfaction.

In "Mein Kampf", Nazi propaganda aims are outlined thus: "First aim of propaganda: to enlist men to establish an organisation; first task of this organisation: to enlist men to carry on propaganda. Second aim of propaganda: to destroy the existing political order by preaching the new doctrine; second task of the organisation: to fight for power". In foreign countries, Nazi propaganda is systematically carried on by German representatives, such as diplomatic agents, chambers of commerce, banks, and organisations of German nationals. These are the men that introduce the Trojan horse into the country by building up organisations of Quislings who turn against their own country. To pick out and to train Quislings takes a great deal of psychology. Goebbels' methods are therefore varied: some may be subject to bribery, on others, titles are conferred or decorations; political dissensions are cleverly exploited, and it does not take much to find a political discontent who may be persuaded or bribed into performing the role of a Quisling.

When Goebbels began to organise Nazi propaganda all over the world, in the days before the war, he slipped twice. A very important document, containing the secret instructions drawn up by the Reich propaganda ministry for its agents in North and South America, came into the possession of the Parisian paper, "L'Air Farisien", and was published by this paper on November 16, 1933. Goebbels could not deny the authenticity of this document, and later events have served to confirm it. In 1935, Goebbels' propaganda methods were exposed a second time. The editor of the Swiss "Schweizer Spiegel", then gave a detailed account of an attempt made by the Reich propaganda service to bribe him. This confession is particularly interesting, as it shows how Goebbels proposed to deal with the Argentine press. He distinguishes 4 "classes" of newspapers:

1. Anti-fascist papers - must be denounced as sold out to Jews and bolsheviks
2. the big, independent newspapers - not subject to bribery, may become annoying; their reputation must be systematically undermined
3. the so-called "neutral" press - have little political weight, but may be made to

carry Nazi propaganda by favours such as free delivery of foreign news  
4. papers openly supporting the German cause - nationalist papers and periodicals,  
controlled by Germans and financed, partly or wholly, by the propaganda ministry.

La Prensa, La Nación, La Razón.

All democratic and socialist newspapers in Argentina are classified under 1. They cannot be converted; they have to be fought and driven out of business. Since the early days of National Socialism, these papers have been consistently branded as Jewish or bolshevist.

To the second group belonged, until 1937, "La Prensa", "La Nación", and "La Razón". In 1937, "La Razón" was promoted into class 4, and later went back into No.2. We shall deal with this in testing case below. Articles that appear in these papers cannot simply be branded as Jewish or bolshevist. Their reputation is too well established, their independence too widely known. So, German propaganda invented a new name for them, and tries to popularize it through the medium of the nationalist press: they are consistently referred to as "the colonial press", to indicate that they are in the pay of the Anglo-Saxon powers that "exploit" Argentina.

Nothing can be more annoying to the Nazi rulers than the truthful information and objective reports on the Reich's internal conditions and foreign policies that appear in the columns of the big, independent papers of this country. Goebbels' secret instructions say: "The attitude of the Latin-American press towards Germany is very unsatisfactory. The influential, big papers lack understanding to a deplorable degree.. It has become apparent that papers like 'La Prensa' are using the German information service much less than before the National Socialist revolution. These papers suspect our informations to be tendentious... Such papers must be publicly exposed as being sold out to other powers. Very helpful are our relations to fascist elements that now may be found in almost all Latin American countries". Following these instructions, the defamation of the independent Argentine papers is persistently carried on by such Spanish-language papers as "Crisol", "La Fronda", "Bandera Argentina", "Duna", and more recently by "El Pampero", "Nuevo Crón", "El Restaurador".

Now to return to the case of "La Razón". Up to May 8, 1937, this newspaper was classified by the Nazis under No.2, and was a target of the most vehement attacks. On August 8, 1935, "La Razón" published an article entitled "Stalin No.1 and No.2", which described the identical methods of the Russian and German dictatorships. In the Nazi papers a storm of protest was released. "Der Trommler", the B.A.Nazi weekly, even went to the extent of printing barely veiled threats. Then a miracle happened. Towards the end of 1936, Nazi papers began to praise "La Razón" for the "significant inner transformation" it had undergone. Cables transmitted by the Nazi news service "Transocean" and "special information" from German sources made their appearance. Finally, on May 8, 1937, a landslide occurred. "La Razón" published a 32-page special edition on Nazi Germany, boasting the régime and its leaders. Articles and illustrations alike all came from Nazi sources. German firms paid for full-page advertisements in this special edition of which "thousands of copies were sent into the interior of Argentina and into neighbouring countries".

We do not propose to deal extensively with the newspapers of the 3rd group. Most of them cannot simply be accused of being bribed. Many editors of provincial papers have unsuspectingly reprinted news furnished by "Transocean", there being no charge on this service. In some cases, however, cash payments were made to editors. On this point, Goebbels' instructions say: "When we are particularly interested in the publication of a certain article, the publisher or editor may be paid a certain sum for publication".

Argentine Quislings.

Such elastic methods have given the propaganda ministry great influence over the Argentine press. In many cases the influence of this foreign ministry is much more powerful than that of the Argentine authorities. This is particularly the case with newspapers of the 4th group. There is hardly any country on earth where the Reich has so many interests at stake, and where at the same time conditions are as

propitious as in this country. For this reason the German propaganda machine in Argentina is particularly well equipped, and its expense account enormous. The methods are outlined in a decree of the German propaganda ministry, issued Oct. 9, 1933: "Department VII must create understanding abroad for the ideas of National Socialism.. The lofty ideals of the Führer are translated into the principal languages and handed to members of parliament, correspondents, etc.. It is important to enlist the collaboration of prominent foreigners, who possess impartial judgment and literary skill.. Department VII controls and finances the work of the foreign organisations".

The Trojan Horse, alias "Organisation of Germans Abroad", carries these instructions into other countries and carries them out. The President of the "Institute for the Germans abroad" in Stuttgart, Herr Stroelin, explicitly stated: "The Germans living abroad are the responsible spokesmen of the new Reich". On Nazi activities in Argentina a great deal has come to light recently, so on the part played by the embassy, the chamber of commerce, and the German Railways Propaganda Office run by Ielfino. More serious, however, are their underground activities, which are largely covered by native Argentine citizens. For the purpose of enlisting the support of native Argentines, no expense is too high. Goebbels said: "In all fields of German propaganda abroad it is of very special importance to spread nationalistic views among university students and professors". In Buenos Aires, this kind of propaganda is styled "propaganda cultural". Trips to Germany, extending over several weeks or months, were arranged by the "Institución Cultural Germano-Argentina". This institute is controlled by the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin, this in turn by the "Academic Exchange" and Rosenberg's office. Dr. Alfaro, president of the "Institución cultural", years ago advised students to learn German so that they might come to know the "German soul". On May 21, 1936, more than 800 persons were enrolled in German-language courses largely financed by the German government. Then followed invitations to Germany, after which the members would return as convinced supporters of the German cause. Other invitations were extended by the "German Academy" in Munich, the "South American Institute" in Wuerzburg, and by industrial, journalistic, and athletic associations. An important part was played by the "Academia de Médicos Germano-Ibero-Americanos", the "Asociación Alemana" in Buenos Aires, etc.

#### "Spirituale W.R" in Argentina.

Tele reports, written by Argentine citizens and published in Argentine papers, have been an effective weapon of German propagandists. However, they constitute but one of the many methods employed by the Nazis to undermine the democratic institutions of the country. The secret instructions recommend: "It is the duty of our confidential agents abroad to establish contact with influential personalities, institutions, and the press, particularly with fascist organisations and newspapers. Such organisations may be rather unimportant locally; but they are capable of understanding German interests and of establishing contact between German agents and certain politicians. They therefore render more valuable service than the organisations of Germans abroad, who in many cases have been discredited". The instructions emphasize that the utmost caution must be used; no traces should be left that might lead to the German authorities. "Nationalism" is the mask that hides the face of Goebbels; its exponents are Mosley, Lefevre, Mussert, Leonhardt, Codreunu, etc. Nationalist organisations represent Nazism as the champion of civilization, pacifism, socialism, Christianity, and what not. The Nationalist press of Argentina has to do some of the work which the Germans themselves cannot not risk to do. When Cervi Justo was still president, papers like "Grisol" and "Bandera Argentina" said what Nazi papers could not say: that the elected president Ortiz was the tool of Jewry and of British - North American finance.

Nationalist Papers in Argentina. - The Goebbels Agency Transocean.

The Nationalist newspaper "Choque", on June 28, this year, put these questions: What objections could be raised against our taking the Transocean news service? Why not attack U.I., P.R., Reuter, etc.? Transocean never lied; the Agency transmits news, and nothing but news. Is there is no charge for their service - why, could we not also get the British service free of charge? - Let us answer these questions.

When the U.S. government closed the three German propaganda offices, the Transocean News Agency, the German Library of Information, and the German Railways Office, the fact became known that these agencies of Goebbels had not been engaged in any legitimate business whatsoever. German news agencies in the U.S. had an expense account of 750,000 doll. per year, and this not only in war, but also in peace time. There is no other nation in the world that allows for such lavish expenditures. This is the cost of "spiritual war", as it has been waged by Germany ever since Hitler came to power.

The secret instructions say that enormous expenses must be incurred because re-armament and an active diplomacy will take the Reich very close to war (we note: these instructions were given in 1933). The instructions further state that the Transocean service must be made to replace the big democratic agencies in the South American press. Employees of the German news service were advised to contact employees of other agencies. In order to obtain valuable information, the author of the instructions recommends the most direct way of approach, bribery. "In the future, our head offices will make a very great effort to obtain information from employees of other agencies, so that by the publication of such information the other agency is exposed... Our aim is to sever the connections between these agencies and the newspapers they serve".

Newspapers of Class 4.

One of the vilest products exported by National Socialism is antisemitism, which Argentine newspapers of the Nationalist type are spreading with zeal. The "Volkskische Beobachter", the German party organ, stated on Feb. 15, 1935: "Until 1933 the Jewish question did not exist in South American countries. Jews were treated as members of any other religious denomination. In April 1933, however, militant newspapers of anti-Jewish tendency made their appearance in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Santiago de Chile". In Buenos Aires, the newspaper "Crisol" of "primer comarca Osés" took up the anti-Jewish fight, and the Nazi party periodical "Trommler" carried for months an advertisement which reads: "Crisol is the only Argentine paper which frankly and sincerely takes a stand for Hitler Germany". No wonder that Crisol took the Transocean service. But whereas "Crisol" largely carried anti-British propaganda, and anti-semitism only as a sideline, it was vice versa with "Clarín". In order to popularize German propaganda, free copies were sent to priests and church people, in which Hitler was represented as the saviour of Christian civilization - while in the Reich Catholics and Protestants were made the victims of persecution.

In his secret instructions, Goebbels advises his agents to enter into personal relations with influential newspapermen. These instructions were carried out, and in 1937 the director of "La Crónica" sailed for Germany. On his return he said: "Germany sets an example to the world". Another paper of this type, the "Panpero", need not be discussed here. Its German character is apparent on every page (cp. the last); we may dismiss it as a German Spanish-language paper.

The "Colonial Offensive".

The Nationalistic press carries on the campaign against the "colonials" as ordered by Goebbels, with great persistency. The periodical "Nuevo Orden", in No. 46, 1941, said: "The offensive of the colonials against our nationalism is but a part of another offensive... against our neutrality". We must here explain what these people mean by "neutrality". We take our explanation from a new new publication, "El Restaurador, Órgano de Combate al servicio de la Granja Argentina", which said: "More than ever before, are we

today in line with Europe. It is in Europe that our future is decided today. Germany has proved that she possesses an invincible army. Every day the British empire suffers another defeat. The end of liberalism and democracy is near.. The U.W. will make a clean sweep of Latin America. The Yankees believe that these countries are but subsidiary enterprises, willing to take orders from headquarters in Washington. Our fate would be a miserable one, could we not count on Europe. The voice of conscience is alive in those Argentines who wish for a great and free country, and their conscience tells them that the triumph of the totalitarian powers marks the beginning of our national liberation". This is no more neutrality, but open support of the totalitarians.

Now to return to "Nuevo Orden". This periodical accuses the "colonials" of violations of Argentine neutrality: "A mighty attack was started by fear - the fear of the guilty - and by orders from overseas. 'La Irense', 'La Nación', and, we suppose, 'Crítica' too let loose a terrible storm last week. We need only refer to 'La Nación' which speaks of the Culiacati bill for the defence of democracy!..". We follow quotations from the papers mentioned, and "Nuevo Orden" holds up to ridicule the proposal, without pointing into the heart of the matter.

Had we not come to know the effectiveness of Hitler-Goebbels-propaganda before and after 1933, we should be inclined to belittle the silliness of such tirades, and to ignore the threats. But some Argentines find these ejaculations extremely new, interesting, heroic: they do not know yet the voice of their master.

#### Down with Pan-American Co-operation!

The Argentine government has repeatedly declared its intention to follow a course of strict neutrality, but it is a matter of the future whether this attitude can be maintained throughout the war. In any case, it is up to the government to define the position of the country. The Nationalist press tries to force the government's hand. Says "Nuevo Orden" (6/11/41): "In an interview granted to a U.S. journalist Hitler declared that the idea of Germany attacking the Western hemisphere was just as fantastic as the sun last on the moon! Roosevelt is not so stupid as to ignore this. What he wants is: to force his dictatorial will on the whole continent, particularly on South America, as Central America is already caught in the gilded web of Pan-Americanism". The paper goes on to say that Roosevelt intends to create a state of latent war in America; a war without guns and bloodshed, but just as destructive: against the liberty, dignity, and economic independence of Latin America.

Not one of the Nationalistic sheets has been able to prove these ever repeated assertions, nor have they tried to do so. They cannot produce a single piece of evidence, and they purposely overlook the fact that German writings give abundant evidence of German intentions on America. This offensive against Pan-American co-operation serves but one, a German, purpose: if ever the Argentine government should be called upon to decide between surrender to Hitler, or hemispheric defence, Argentine Nationalists are to deprive them of their liberty of action. Just as Goebbels' instructions read: "It is of special importance to win public opinion in the countries of America so that, if need be, public opinion is capable of using pressure on the government".

It is particularly alarming to know that Hitler again emphasizes the point that an invasion of America is "fantastic". Such like declarations used to precede offers of friendship, followed by military intervention. Hitler's career in Europe illustrates his methods: to soften future victims by promises and facts, to weaker them and then to strike. After these methods proved so successful in Europe - why should he alter them? According to the Nationalist press, the Argentine government must not co-operate with the North, but follow a policy of strict isolation. And this is exactly what Hitler wants.